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the various clan-tracts of the ancient Osraigh? And if this be established, it will necessarily follow that the site of the present city of Kilkenny constituted the ancient capital of the kingdom of Osraigh, the seat and the centre of its civil and ecclesiastical authority.

(*To be continued.*)

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF FLORENCE MAC CARTHY.

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY (GLAS), ESQ.

(*Continued from Vol. IV., New Series, page 224.*)

FROM the significant terms in which Sir William Fitzwilliams had replied to Lord Burghley's first letter in favour of Florence, it is plain that he had a previous distrust to put aside before he could make her Majesty's pleasure entirely his own; but with his usual address Florence had used the opportunities of his intercourse with the Deputy to such purpose, that he dissipated much previous prejudice, gained his good-will, and convinced him, as he had previously convinced Cecyll himself, that Barry was, as his father had been before him, a traitor in heart and action: but far more than anything that Florence could say, did the intemperance of Barry, in charging the Deputy with partiality and injustice in the extending of his lands, provoke that high functionary against him. He was in the active pursuit of this fine, and in contemplation of using Florence's services with O'Neill, when the order reached him to summon Florence before him to give answer to fresh accusations, emanating from the man whose charge against himself had prepared him to put little trust in any accusation he might make against an enemy. Sir Thomas Norreys was called away from his government in Munster to take part in this examination, and it appears that Fitzwilliams expected to receive from him some elucidation of this sudden change in court feeling, and some explanation of the new charges. Sir Thomas declared that *he* had no accusations to make against Florence, nor did he know of anything new that could be brought against him. Barry had arrived from England, and notice was sent to him to repair without delay to Dublin. He lingered by the way; and the Lord Deputy and the Vice-President found themselves in the undignified position of having summoned a supposed criminal before them upon charges of the nature of which they were themselves ignorant; and without an accuser. Some little ill-temper under the circumstances may be excused; some was certainly felt;

for, after consultation, the Deputy resolved to wait till the morrow, and if Barry did not then make his appearance, to send a government pursuivant to fetch him. Happily for his own dignity, Barry appeared within the time, with his charges and his witnesses. What his judges thought of the entire transaction the reader will have little difficulty in discovering.

“1594. *June 12. The LORD DEPUTY FITZWILLIAMS to BURGHLEY :*

“I wrote unto your Lordship in my last that I had receaved Her Majestys l^{tes} for the examination of Florence Mac Carty upon something there informed against him by the Lo. Barry, and that there were no articles or instructions sent whereupon to examine him, but onlie reference to Sir Thomas Norreys who is to ioine wth me in the examinacon. I have since receaved another l^{re} from Her Matie muche to the same effect, w^h geveth me to conceive that somewhat is looked for to fall out. Sir Thomas hath bene here nowe these four daies, and hath broughte Florence wth him, as I wrote to him he shold, but knoweth no matter whereupon to examine him. In his way hithurward through Waterford he found the Lo. Barry there nuely landed, and willed him to hasten aftre, w^h he promised to do. He mighte easely haue bene heare two daies since though he made a step home for some occasion he said he had so to do. If he come not this daie I purpose tomorrowe to send a pursewant to hasten him awaie and then soone after Her Ma^{tie} shall, according to her pleasure signified, be advertised from me and Sir Thomas what we find.”

“1594. *June 17. The LORD DEPUTY and SIR THOS. NORREYS to my Lo.*

“It maie please y^r Lo. before the winde did serve to carrie the other dispatch that comes herewth from me the Deputie, the Lo. Barry made his repaire unto us, and neith^r I the Deputie, having receaved instrucons thence, as I haue in my oth^r l^{tes} written to y^r Lo. nor I the Vice-p^sident knowing anie thing wherupon Florence Mc Cartie was to be examined, according to the reference mentioned in Her Ma^s l^{tes}, wee willed him to deli^{vr} us in writing the matters he had to charge Florence wth. The same containing 8 articles, w^h are twoo more then he saith he p^rferred there,¹ togeth^r wth Florence's answers, and the examinacons of 4 of the witnesses, named by the Lo. Barry w^h are nowe here, whereof 2 his ownemen, y^r Lo shall receive herewith to be imparted to Her Ma^{tie} according to Her pleasure signified lately to me the Deputie by 2 severall l^{tes} of the 3^d & 13th of the last monethe. A numbre of witnesses more are to be examined, whereof 18 in Mounster, besides the 2 already examined here, and 5 aboute the court there, as by the schedule inclosed shall appere to y^r Lo. But these 4 examinacons taken here seme not to us so forcible to import, as that wee think it mete to put Her Ma^{tie} to the charge of fetching so manie so farr of, by pursueants, to be exai^d here; wee haue therefore determined, for the best and spedeist waie, that I the Vice-p^sident, who am to depart wthin twoo daies, shall upon my coming home send for them, and examin them, taking the assistance of Mr. Atturney Gen^l and Provost Marshall of that p^{vin}ce or eith^r of them; and so wth all expedicon send their examinacons hither to be dispatched over

by me the Deputie, if mine abode here be so long In the meane time wee are to noate to y^r Lo. one suggestion of the Lo. Barries (whitch of forgetfullness or otherwise) *that toucheth him in honor*, concerning the seizure of *all* his lands, to answere the £500 fine given to Florence, where indeede all that was extended for that cause exceedeth not the third of his lands. And so we humblie take leave 17 June 1594.

“W. FITZWILLIAMS.

“THO: NORREYS.”

(Schedule enclosed in the above letter):

“To be examined. All these are of Carbery, of Florence his countrie, his followers, cosens, and kinsmen:—

“Donell McCarty, al^s. McCarty Reogh; Donogh Oge O’Cullen; Reynold Oge O’Hurley th’ elder; Teigh-en-orsie McCarty; Kyrone M^cMoragho M^cSwynie; Teig Oreigan; Moroghoe M^cDermot Oreigan. Dermot, John, and Donell, sonnes to the said Morgho. Teig M^cDonell Icrooly, al^s. Brannagh; Owen M^cDermodie M^cDonell Cartie.”

Before a tribunal the judges of which he had grievously offended by an accusation of partiality, Barry produced the charges which had made sufficient impression on the Lords of the Privy Council of England to cause them to suspend further proceedings in Florence’s favour relative to the fine: that he should have presented such accusations, and that the Ministers should have entertained them, as something new, is incomprehensible; they were but a repetition of the articles laid to Florence’s charge soon after his marriage, and respecting which, by order of the same ministers, he had been examined then, nearly six years before. Upon the former occasion no witnesses had openly appeared against him; the charges had then evidently been hastily made up out of the rumours hovering around the residences of the Vice-President of Munster and the Lord Deputy. It was, perhaps, the offer of Barry *to prove* the truth of these accusations that obtained a reopening of the investigation. So heinous had been the treachery of Stanley, so savage the persistence of Jacques in search of some one to assassinate the Queen, that, could the enemies of Florence have proved against him any intercourse with those persons of late years, his ruin would have been certain. We shall shortly see a far abler, and a less scrupulous man than Barry—no less a personage than the Lord Chief Justice of England—lending himself to collect and lay before the Queen a similar catalogue of charges; and even that wily and skilled intriguer could conceive nothing more damaging to the character of the man whom he wished to ruin than these baneful traditions, still floating about the uneasy homes of the undertakers. The answers of Florence upon the former occasion had been little more than denials of the truth of the accusations made against him—a simple pleading of not guilty. In nothing do his eminent “pru-

dence and wisdom" appear so conspicuous as in the difference between his previous cautious silence, and his present gratuitous and circumstantial explanation of all that had appeared equivocal in his conduct through his whole career. Before judges whom he had accused of injustice, and who had already detected, and laid before the Privy Council, an instance of his want of veracity that "*touched him in honor*," the Lord Barry produced "the Articles," and Florence MacCarthy the "Answers" following:—

"1594. June 17. *Copy of Articles preferred against FLORENCE MAC CARTY by the LORD BARRY.*

1st. "Allen Marten Gent, borne in Galweye, Student of Her Ma^t comon lawes, being maintained and kept by Florence Cartie, bothe in England and Ireland for a time, till he was sent by the said Florence over to Sir William Stanly and Jaques, wch Sir William and Jaques hathe p^rferred the said Marten to the Prince of Parma where he was appointed one of his secretaries.

2d. "William Hurley born in co^m: of Lymerick, broughte up in Oxenford, professor of the Civill Lawe, was at the time of the apprehension of the said Florence his retainer in this realme employed by the said Florence to the said Sir William Stanley and Jaques, furnished wth money and horse, undre coll^r to p^rcure a discharge from England for the said Florence, wch Hurley remains there as yet by his direction.

3. "Cormock M^cDonell M^cFynin Cartie Gent, coosen and servaunt tothe said Florence, being the man that broughte the said Florenceis wife into England, being accompanied wth a brother of his called Callaghan, wch twoo being p^rferred by the said Florence to Jaques, where the said Cormock as yet remains, and his brother Callaghan died there in the enemie's service.

4th. "Donogh McCartie base brother to the said Florence who went out of this realme into England, in the companie of Donell Grame O'Mahonie, and being sent for by Florence and was employed by the said Florence to the said Jaques; where he is as yet, and obtained pen^cion from the king of Spaine either for his brother, or himself.

5th. "Fynin M^cCormack M^cFinnin Cartie of Glanencroem wthin the contry of Carbrie in the Countie of Cork, cozen and retainer tothe said Florence, wch Finin p^rtended title to Glanencroem aforesaid, was sent over by the said Florence to Sir William Stanley and Jaques aforesaid, where he serves and remains as yet.

6. "Gullepatrick O'Cullen (fencer by p^rfession) executed of late in England *for treason against Her Matie was the only servant and follower of the said Florence, as well long time before his imprisonment or restraint, as also long time in his restraint*; and after sent him over unto Jaques where he continued, till of late he returned where he received according his deserts.

7. "Owen McCartie als Owen Gamsagh, who was likewise in service against Her Matie wth Jaques aforesaid, and came from thence at the time that Cullen above written came into England before XXmas last past,

and from thence came over upon Christmas Holidiaies to this realme to the said Florence, who knowing him to be as aforesaid hath ever sithence kept him in his service, wch Owen was borne in Carberie in the coff of Corke.

8. "It is to be considered beside the rest, that the said Florence and Jaques were sworne brothers &c. &c.

"17 June 1594.

"DAVID BUTTEUANTE."

"1594. June 17. *The Answers of FLORENCE MAC CARTHY to the Articles preferred against him by the LORD BARRY.*

1st. "As for Allen Martyne myne acquaintance wth him was laide to my charge by Mr. Secretarie Walsyngham and others of the Councill wch were appointed to examine me wthin six or seven weeks after my coming tothe Tower, for the wch I have sattisfied them then: Having noe acquaintance wth him nor never seene him but in the Innes of courte, where I became acquainted wth him, and where I left him at my coming into Ireland, of whome I never hearde other newes but that at my first libty in the tower about four years past, I heard he died in Fraunce or Flaunders, Before God I knowe not wch: His father and freinds can tell best, but at the tyme I heard that, Jaques was then in the Fleete, whereby I could not send him to him, nor never did send him to him or to anie other, as God judg me; neither doe I knowe when he went, nor whether, but that I left him in the Innes of courte where I found or knewe him first, when I came into Ireland.

2. "William Hurley of the County of Lymerick havinge studied at Oxford a longe while came into Ireland a litle after my first comeinge out of England, aboute the tyme that I was comitted by Sir Thomas Norreys at Cork; at wch time I being desyrous to send som agent into England to procure my libty, dealt wth Mich Skiddy of Cork (whoe was Sir Frauncis Walsyngham's man) wth whome I did not agree, for want of money, and the said William Hurley being then com to Cork, I dealt wth him, unto whome I mortgaged or made over some land for goinge thither; whoe being gon and having followed my cause for three or four moneths, as I understood, he was hardlie used by the Erle of Clancartyes man Donoghe Offaylve, whoe made Sir Valentyne Browne to use him hardlie, and to threaten him, and also as I understoode they among them procured Mr. Secretarie to give him verie hard speeches, whereby he was soe feared and terrified that he deptyed the realme and went into som forraigne country to followe his studies, of whome I never heard since, but that he followed his studie beyond the seas in France or Germany, for whome I have also aunswered Mr. Secretarie and the rest in my last impsonm^t, Jaques being then in the fleete, when I was examined for him.

3 "As touchinge Cormack M'Donell M'Fynine and Callaghan his brother, indeede I must confesse him to be of my countie and name, and somewhat akyn to me afarre off: p'haps, he hathe, as I understoode served Sir William Mohowne in Cornewall, and beinge com to London, when I had my first libtie in the Towre, he desired to be admitted to see me,

whoe being brought by my keeper Michell Sible, he used afterwarde for a sevenight or a fortnight to com to me at my request to carie my l^{tes} to my friends at Courte that sued for my libtie, and having psuaded myself at that tyme that my wyfe would be the fittest suter to obtaine Her Ma^{ties} favr for myne enlargem^t I entreated him to goe into this countrie for her ; having pured him som money and a passporte, and having written to her to com ; whereuppon she came into England, and one David Roche, a man of mine being com to the Courte he waited uppon my wife ; and I being still in the Towre and not able to keepe anye, the said Cormuck told me he would goe into Cornewall ; and whether he be gone thither or into Fraunce I knowe not, but that I heard, as I remember, that he was in Fraunce, by an Irish souldier whoe is nowe at Moy-alloe, whose name I will learne : his father dwelles at Moy-alloe, I sawe him wth Mr. M^cDonoghoe, Dermod M^cOwen, And as for Callaghane his brother I never knewe none such, nor never sawe any ; but my wyfe, & he alsoe told me that he brought over from hence wth him a boy of the adge of twelve yerres or thereabouts, of that name, whoe was his brother by the father ; what is becom of him I knowe not, having never seene him as aforesaid.

4. "Donogh McCarty whoe is, and hath bene still in the countrey taken for my Father's base sonne, came into England in the companie of som of my men, as namely one Edmond Slabagh, whoe is wth me nowe, and whoe broght me som Hawkes, and who alsoe broght the same boy wth him to help him, in whose companie alsoe Donell Gram went over to sue for his lands of Kinallmeky, and the said boy having remained wth me in England afterwards until I came into Ireland, he staid in England against my will, at my coming away, being promyst by litle Teige M^cCarthy my Lord of Ormonds man, to be preferred to som gent there of whom I heard no other newes but that he went wth some English souldiers into Fraunce and Flaunders, and being com from one of those countreyes, back while I was in Ireland, I heard he was sick a long time in England, and when I was sent over by Mr. Chichester I did not see him, being by Mr. Chichester by direction from the Councill delivered the next daie to the Lyvtenant of the Towere, but afterwards about a yere or more after my commitment to the Towre, Jaques being then in the fleete for hurting Michell Apsley, he found the said boy and kept him wth him, and being enlarged and dispatched out of the Realme by Mr. Secretarie he broght him wth him, as I understoode, and where he is, whether he be wth him or wth som other, or what is becom of him, I knowe not since that tyme.

5. "Fynine M^c Cormucke M^c Finin of Gleancruym beinge gon over by reason of his adversarie Teigenorsy, whoe went over wth Sir Walter Ralieghe to surrendre the said Gleanecruym, and his father being my father's follower and foster brother, the boy came to me to the Towre and told me he had noe frinds nor meanes to followe his cause, whereuppon for Pittie, and contrie's sake, I gave my worde to one Robert Foster of Towre Streete for his diett, and having putt upp his severall petitions to the Councill, Sir Owen Hopton being removed from the Towre and Sir Michell Blount placed, the said Sir Michell would lett noe prisoner have anie libtie uppon anie warr^t directed to his pdecessore ;

whereuppon the aforesaid Foster, seing me restrained, would not credit the poore yong man for his diet, whereby he was constrained through extreame misery to goe wth som souldiers into Brittainne, where he was about four or five yerres past killed aboute Gingham, as I heard of everybodie that came from Sir John Merreys, since.

6. "As for Patrick Cullen the Fencer, none of all these have ever beene my man, nor never woare my cloth, but this Patrick onelie, wth whome I became acquainted in a fencing schoole, seven or eight yerres ago, or perhaps somewhat more. He could play well, wch made me desire him to com wth me into Ireland, wch he promist to doe; but I being at the courte, he, for some fray, or som cause or other wch I doe not knowe, went to keepe schoole at Westchester; and I beinge com to London from the courte, I enquired for the said Patrick at the fencing schoole where I understood that he and one Joffrey another man, an Englishman, whoe is here nowe at Dublin keeping a fencing schoole, went to keepe schoole at Westchester, I being wthin a while after determined to goe into Ireland, I desired one Mr. Lucas a Merchant of Waterford to lend me som money, wch I would cause one of my freinds to place in Ireland uppon sight of my l^{re}. He told me he would goe for som money into Westchester, where his father being an Englishman was born, and that he would lend me soe much money as I desired, wch was £55. Whereuppon I, understandinge that he was to goe to Chester for it, and remembering the said litle fencing youth or boy, I desired him to enquire at the fencing schoole for such a one, and to desire him to com wth me into Ireland, accordinge to his promise; whereuppon he came to me wth Mr. Lucas, and came wth me hither, and was wth me while I was restrained at Corke, and here, and went over wth me when I was sent by Mr. Chichester, and being the next day committed to the Towre, he went awaie and served som other, or as I hearde he kepte a fencing schoole in London, and being committed for a robbery, or for some suspicō of som such matter, he went and fledd awaie somewhere, I knowe not whither. All this while after my committment for a yere or more I was still a close prisoner in cold harbert,¹ and this much as aforesaid I heard at my first libtie; he being gon before my first libtie, and Jaques being in the Fleet a good while after: Alsoe the said Culone whoe was never a whole yere wth me, is nowe hanged, and executed, and examined, whereby it cannot be unknowne to the Councill if he could saye aniething of me.

7 "As for Owen McCarthy or Owen Gamsagh, I knowe him not by that name, but in troth one Owen McTeige MacDonell Oge mett me in the countre where I dwell, nowe of late since my cominge, and told me that he came from Sir John Merehe'sis Regiment out of Brittainne, and being assembled amongst the rest of the countre, when the Sherrif extended som land from me, he went at my request wth some of mine owne men, namelie Molrony O'Croly, and Edward Slabagh to keepe the castle of Tymolaigge for me, for his hire; and since I left him in the countrey, and is there, I am sure to be had if my Lo. or his uncle Mc Carthy Reough or som other of my Lo. Barries freinds hath not by som meanes put him out of the way, of purpose to accuse me for him: nether was he

¹ Part of the Tower of London, so called.

ever my man, nor doe I knowe that he was ever wth Jaques, or anie-where ells beyond seas, but under Her Ma^{ty} Generall in Brittain as he telleth me.

8th. "As for the last article, I avowe it to be merelie false, neither had I ever, or did I ever, by anie signe, or otherwise shewe that I had anie freindshipp wth Jaques but while he served Her Ma^{ty}. Having never wisht him noe better looke then to loose his Lyfe since I heard that he went to the enemyes.

"The Aunswers of me Florence M^c Carthy to the Articles preferred by the Lo. Barry to the Lo. Deputy and Sir Thomas Norreys against me the 17 of June 1594.

"By me ffLORENCE M^cCARTHY.

"A true Copie

"August 31.

"W. FITZ WILLIAMS,

"THO. NORREYS."

This defence of Florence is one of the most interesting of the many documents he has left us. It will be noticed that the two first articles in his reply are concerning law students. It is impossible to peruse his numberless petitions, to see the supreme address with which was carried on a struggle of half a century about his property, the care with which every legal document concerning it was preserved, the readiness with which, upon occasion, they were invariably forthcoming, and, above all, the consummate skill with which, at the most critical moments of his career, his correspondence was conducted, and not at once conclude that he must, through life, have retained in his employment very wary and learned legal advisers; doubtless the Brehons of Munster were equally made use of in his intercourse with his own followers. That he employed the rhymers, or bards, and knew them to be most efficient instruments in the hands of any one who could use them, we shall have incidental proof at a later, and very critical period of his life; but we should still remain puzzled to conjecture the origin of this extreme wariness, were it not for the presentments made to Sir William Drury, already laid before the reader, and confirmed by his answers to Barry. To his legal friends he owed, not indeed this triumph over his adversary—for these charges had been answered years before, and a mere repetition of his previous replies would have been at least as credible as such testimony as Barry had produced—but the means of pointing every petition in after life with the declaration that "nothing had ever been proved against him;" and the acknowledgement of Carewe to the Council at Dublin, and of Cecyll himself to Carewe, that "all he had done he had brought within the reach of his protections and pardons." There exists amongst Her Majesty's State Papers an official return of "the names of Irish Gentlemen Students of Law in Gray's Inn." This document

is undated, and therefore placed provisionally amongst other papers also undated; but it is conjectured to belong to the end of the reign of James I. In this list occurs the name of Hurley, and the call for this return would seem to arise so naturally from the charges of Barry that it is difficult not to entertain the supposition that the date suited to it would be that of this renewed attack upon Florence. The list may possess an interest of its own, and it is therefore offered to the reader's notice :—

“ NAMES OF THE IRISH GENTLEMEN OF GRAY'S INN.

1. “Bradey, who lodgeth in a low chamber at the East end of Mr. William Ellis his building in Gray's Inn, but not in Co^{ns}.

2. “Barnewall G^r. who lodgeth at the E: end of Gray's inn Chappel, but not in Co^{ns}.

3. “Byse; who when he is in Towne lodgeth at one Jacksonne's a Victualler in Holborne.

4. “Hurley who lodgeth in Mr. Fullwood's new buildings.

5. “Ball, who lodgeth at one Stanley's a joiner hard by Staple Inne.

6. “Seagrave James; and, 7, Seagrave Richard, who lodge at Jacksonne's afores^d. but one not in Co^{ns}.

8. Morris John; and 9 FitzWilliam, which are not in Towne.

“Staple Inn. To the Worshipful the Readers of Gray's Inn.

“There hath not been in Commons in Staple Inn, which are as yet of that house, any more Irishmen at any time within these 3 years, but those who are hereunder named :—

1. “Char^s. Ryan Gent: went into Irel^d. (as far as I can learne) about 5 weeks now last past.

2. “Christopher Rerdon Gent: lyeth in this Citie, and eats, as I hear, at Bull's Ordinary, in Fleete Street, most commonly.

3. “Edw^d. Tafe of Cookestown, in Ireland, Gent. I cannot learne whether he be in Eng^d. or in Irel^d.

4. “Thomas Roache, Gent. he lyeth in High Holborne, but hath not been in Commons these six weekes.

“THOS. FRESE, *Principal*.”

Florence was evidently well pleased to seize this opportunity of a feeble accusation, to make a powerful, and as he might hope, a final reply; and he purposely went beyond the range of these charges to give explanation upon matters which, he must have known, had not escaped the quick eyes of the authorities, although Barry had not the sagacity to lay them to his charge. The allusion to the story of young Finin of Gleanachrime invites a few words of explanation relative to a dark episode in our family history. The Mac Carthys Duna descended, as did the more historic branch of Mac Carthy Reagh, from Donal God, third in descent from St. Cormac, Bishop and King of Munster, and fifth from Carthach, from whom the sept name was derived. From Donal Caomh the Handsome, grandson of Donal God, proceeded Donal Glas I., and Cormac

Don; from the former sprung the Mac Carthys Reagh, and from the latter the Mac Carthys Duna, or of Dunmanway. These had their home in the pleasant lands of Gleanachrime, where, from about the year 1300, their chieftains lived in contented submission to their more turbulent cousins, who early assumed the supremacy of the whole of Carbery. In Sir William Drury's time a shocking crime, and an ignominious punishment had brought disgrace upon this family. Cormac Don, a namesake of the first Lord of Gleanachrime, who stood by Tanist law next in succession to the chieftainship, had murdered his uncle and chieftain, in order to possess himself of the lands of the family; the murderer was apprehended, tried by a jury, and hanged in chains at Cork! Had this been the end of the matter, no voice could have impugned the justice of the verdict, or the propriety of the punishment; but this was by no means the end of it, nor indeed was it, except incidentally, any part of the purpose of Sir William Drury to trouble the Queen's officers with any domestic irregularities amongst the Irish septs. "The fixed principle" of Sir Henry Sidney "to dissipate the Estates of the rebel Irish" had quickened the ingenuity of all subsequent presidents, and deputies, and eminently of the Parliaments held at Dublin. At the first of these Parliaments that met after the execution of Cormac Don, this criminal, who had been hanged for the *Murder* of his uncle, was declared to have been guilty of *Treason*, and "Atteynted so as his lands of Glan-y-crime came to Her Majesty." The history of the transaction is curious in all its phases. The elected life-occupant of large sept domains is murdered; the right of succession is, by Irish law, in his nephew, the murderer; the Queen's authorities in Munster, instead of declaring the estates of the murdered man to descend, as by English law they would, to his son, for once acknowledge "the vile and lewd usage of Tanistry," recognise the murderer as the just heir, try him for Murder, execute him for Treason, and by Act of Parliament declare him attainted, and the estates of the Mac Carthys of Gleanachrime to belong, not any longer to them, as by law of Tanistry (now for this once recognised), they did, nor to the son of the murdered chieftain as they would by English law, but to the Queen! Even more curious was the sequel of this effort for the fixed principle; for, whilst "the twelve men at Corke" were, according to their lights, finding it "Murder" in Cormac Don to have killed his uncle, and Cormac Don was in consequence of his sentence expiating his offence on the gibbet, whilst the Dublin Parliament was finding it "High Treason" to have slain an Irish chieftain, and was tracing the rights of succession to his property through the mazes of rival laws, and contending claims, Teig O'Norsie—Teig of the Forces—a name sufficiently suggestive of the validity of Teig's claim, whether against his cousin, or the Queen,—who by Tanistry was justly the successor

to his brother, the murderer, quietly inducted himself into the possession of the contested lands, and the Queen, as complacently, submitted without a word of protest to this annulling of so much parliamentary acuteness, and the disloyal invasion of her rights! It was not until after ten or twelve years' enjoyment of the fruits of his brother's crime that there occurred to the mind of Teig O'Norsie any doubt of the sufficiency of his title; but when the forlorn son of the murdered chieftain, then growing up to manhood, had made his way—probably begged it—to London, and found there a friend, in a man whose energies might seem sufficiently absorbed by his own misfortunes, Teig, with full reliance upon the benignity of the Queen, bethought him of the expedient, always pleasing to Elizabeth, of offering the surrender of his lands to Her Majesty, that he might receive them back, subject to some trifling rent, to be held, for all time to come, by English tenure. He had powerful friends, and repaired with his suit to court. The poor disinherited lad, who had wandered to the banks of the Thames in search of a patron, found there a friendly hand to pen his petition for him, and interest sufficient to bring it under the notice of the Privy Council. The petition of Teig O'Norsie was a discreet and diplomatic document: had it not been for the incident of the murder, the sentence of the Cork jury, and the declaration of attainder by the Dublin Parliament, the petitioner would doubtless have premised his right to the lands of Gleanachrime by Tanist usage immemorial, as did other petitioners in similar circumstances, and have gracefully laid all such claim at the Queen's feet; but these were not recollections to be rashly revived; Teig, therefore, in making his petition, reserved within his own breast so much of the preamble as would have recapitulated the Tanist rights which he sought to surrender. The petition of Finin McCormac is a far more interesting and curious document; the hand that wrote it is traceable in every paragraph. The petition contains not a word of any rights accruing to the suppliant by Irish law; by Tanistry Teig O'Norsie was justly chieftain of the Mac Carthys of Gleanachrime; and this Finin knew. The petitioner might, unaided, have thought of accusing Teig of a share, by evil counsel, in the death of his, the petitioner's father, and of the subsequent murder of a cousin who had assumed the protection of Finin; but that Teig O'Norsie had by certain ways other than those leading through the grand antichambers "procured speech of Her Majesty, and was in hopes of procuring a grant of his lands without knowledge of the Lords of the Privy Council; nay, to steal away Her Majesty's letters unknown to their Lordships," was an assertion which it was much safer for this simple suppliant, than for his prompter, to make; as, assuredly, it was a discovery that needed more experience of Court proceedings than it was likely Finin could have picked up during his short abode under the roof of Foster, the victualler, in Tower-street.

“1587. *The humble petition of FININ M^cCORMUCK to the Right Hon^{ble}. the Lords and others of her Majesty's most honorable Privy Council.*

“In most humble manner, sheweth unto your Lordships, your poor suppliant Fynin M^cCormuck of Glaincrum in Carbry, within the county of Corke gent. That whereas your said suppliant his father Cormuck M^cFynin being as is known to the Right Hon^{ble}. Sir John Parrott, lawfully possessed of the lands of Glaincrim in the country of Carbry aforesaid, was at the instigation of one Teig in Orssy murdered by Cormuck Downe, the said Teig in Orssy his eldest brother, for the which his said brother was by S^r. W^m. Drury, being then Lord President of Monster, hanged in chains at Cork; and afterwards a cousin of your suppliant, named Felime M^cOwen pretending to possess the said land, of Glaincrim for, and in the name of your suppliant, was by the said Teig in Orssy in like sort murdered, since which time he doth, as well by reason of his wealth, as by cause of your suppliants tender age, being constrained for the safety of his life to forsake his country since his fathers death, contrary to all equity and justice, possess your said suppliant's father's lands as tenant to S^r. Owen M^cCarty, being therein maintained by the said S^r. Owen, by reason that he hath fostered his eldest son, and the better to entitle himself thereunto is now come hither with intent to surrender the said land unto Her Majesty, and for as much as those lands doth of right belong to your suppliant, and that the said Teig in Orssy hath already procured means whereby he hath spoken unto Her Majesty, and preferred his supplications to Her Highness touching the said lands, and being here these six months, ever since S^r. Walter Raleigh came out of Ireland, a suitor unto Her Majesty for these lands, he hath never all that while acquainted any of your Lordships with the matter; whereby it appears that he hath no right thereunto, and that his intent is to steal away Her Majesty's letters unknown to your Lordships, which he had done already but that M^r. Secretary Walsingham, according to your Lordship's former resolution, did hinder it; wherefore he humbly beseecheth your Lordships for God's sake and for the equity of his cause, to be a means unto Her Majesty that his said surrender may not be received, and that there may be a stay made thereof before your suppliants title be tried, which, being found right, that he may be put in possession of the said lands according to equity and justice, and he shall pray, &c.

“The humble Petition of Fynin M^c Cormuck to the Lords of the Council.”

N. B.—The names are underlined by Lord Burghley, and the following scrap of pedigree is written by him in the margin:—

“Cormock●	Cormock●
M ^c Fy	Downe
murdered	hanged
by Cormok Down	●Teig
Fy M ^c	in Orssye.”
Cormocke●	

Royal letters were sent to Ireland, ordering inquiry to be made

into the justice of these rival suits. An inquiry was made, not indeed into the grounds of the dispute between Teig O'Norsie and the pauper Finin M'Cormack, but simply for the record of the sentence passed upon the murderer ten years before, and its bearing upon the succession to the lands of Gleanachrime. Record of the transaction was readily found, and it was conclusive:—

“1587. 28 *Eliz.*, *Cap.* 7.

“Cormac Don Mac Carty was executed for Treason by verdict of XII men at Corke in Sir William Drurys time; and after, he was, at the last parliament at Dublyn, atteynted, so as his lands of Glan-y-cryme came to Her Ma^{tie}.

“Teig O'Norsey Mac Carty, a younger brother to the said Cormac, who hath occupied the said lands unjustlie ever since his brother's deathe, is nowe a suyer to surrender the said lands, and to retake them agayne of Her Ma^{tie}.

“A cousin of his, named Finin Mac Cormac Mac Cartie, does crosse the said Teig in his sute, for that he pretendethe title to the said lands, but the Right thereof is in Her Ma^{tie} as aforesaid.”

Letters Patent were passed; the country was vested in Teig O'Norsie and his heirs male for ever, and no more would ever have been heard of Finin Mc Cormac but for this reply of Florence Mac Carthy to the charges of Barry. Of the assertions of Barry that “Cormac M^cFinin had been sent by Florence to Sir William Stanley,” and of Florence that “the unfortunate youth, constrained by extreme misery, had joined himself with certain soldiers, and gone with them into Brittainne,” the reader may select that which he thinks the more credible, for no proof is offered of either; but that the youth had lost his life some four or five years previous to the date of these charges was, fortunately for him, not exact. In the year 1642, —forty-eight years later than the date of these articles, fifty-two or fifty-three after his rumoured death—Finin McCormac gave such evidence of his existence as Barry would have expected. A portentous list of MacCarthys accused of rebellion was produced at the Assizes held at Youghal, in the month of August of that year: the third name upon this list was that of Finin M^c Cormac, of Gleanachrime; the twenty-eighth was Teige O'Downy (the son of Teige O'Norsey, to whom Her Gracious Majesty had given her Letters Patent for the lands of Gleanachrime); the twenty-ninth was Teig O'Norsey (II.) of Togher, grandson of Teig O'Norsie the first; and the thirtieth Dermot McTeig of Dunmanway, another grandson of the grantee. *Eighty-two* more names followed, of gentlemen of the sept, called to account on that day of solemn reckoning!

Of all the charges which the malignity of Barry had collected

against his adversary, the sixth was by far the most dangerous. Respecting this Cullen, Camden writes:—

“The next day was also Patrick Cullen condemned, an Irish Fencing Master, who had been laden with great promises by the fugitives in the Low Countries, and some time since sent privily over, with money to bear his charges, on purpose to kill the Queen. Who as good as confessing his crime, and the same being also proved against him by sufficient evidence, he was taken and executed, when he was otherways ready to die of a languishing sickness.”

Florence met this accusation with the candour of a man who felt that he had no motive for concealment, and no objection that the entire truth of his connexion with this Cullen should be known to the whole world; for he readily acknowledges the curious fact that he had been at some pains to secure his services, that he had taken him with him to Ireland, kept him about his person at the time of his marriage, *during his imprisonment* at Cork, and took him with him to Dublin; that whilst he was under the custody of Chichester he was allowed to retain him, and that it was only when the Tower gates closed between them that they separated. His having had this Patrick Cullen at one time in his service was no greater proof of his conspiracy to murder the Queen, than his acquaintance with Stanley and Jacques had been of his complicity in the surrender of Deventer, on the Issell, to the Spaniards. If Queen Elizabeth could have believed these charges, her subsequent conduct towards Florence would have added to the many claims which this Royal Lady has upon the admiration of posterity, that of a Christian forgiveness of her worst enemies. Had the accusation been made against her principal Secretary, Cecyll, or her Deputy, Mountjoy, or her President, Carewe, Her Majesty might have believed it! for each of these noblemen has left it to posterity in his own handwriting that he had hired men to do murder¹—the third had himself, with his own hand, done it! Such a man as Jacques de Franceschi might use the weapons of these great statesmen, but the poor Irish fencing master, Cullen, did *not*! Nor—be it said without disrespect to Camden—“did he as good as confess his crime,” but he denied it on his oath; nor was he “convicted of it by sufficient evidence,” though he was sufficiently hanged for it, but he “scrupled in his conscience at doing such a deed.” Her Majesty could not, even had she been disposed, believe this accusation of Barry; for the Lords of the Privy Council had already in their possession a more satisfactory refutation of this atrocious slander than it was in the power of Florence to produce. It will be within the recollection of the reader that the principal

¹ The reader is referred to the article on “State Craft in the Sixteenth Cen-

ture,” published in the “Journal” of the Society, vol. i. new series, p. 398.

charge against him in his previous examination had been his intimacy with Sir William Stanley and Jacques de Franceschi. Since those days the evil fame of both these men had increased a hundred-fold; the sole object of the life of Stanley had become the invasion of Ireland, and the sole pursuit of Jacques the discovery of some able desperado to murder the Queen. Patrick Cullen, as we have mentioned, was apprehended on suspicion of having undertaken to do it. He confessed that Jacques had proposed it to him, but he declared "that he had had scruples as to the lawfulness of the deed, and that whilst in communication with Jacques he had received a warning from one of his countrymen to be careful, for that Jacques was a cunning fellow, and that as he (Cullen) was known to Mr. Florence Mac Carthy, he would surely forfeit his esteem if he joined in any such practice." This was the deposition of a dying man, made before the Privy Council, and of which Florence could not by any possibility have cognizance.

No sooner had Florence made his reply to Barry's charges than he hurried away to England, to plead his cause in person with Lord Burghley and Sir Robert Cecyll, "whom he had always found his very good Lords, and best friends." His earliest welcome in London was from his creditors, who doubtless had watched every phase of that long enduring contest with interest scarcely less vivid than his own. With the same coin with which he had managed to silence them before he now endeavoured to hush them again. His first suit to his friends was for a renewal of the old warrant of immunity from arrest for debt. This was a species of paper money in great repute, and abundant circulation, amongst gentlemen, who, like himself, were "in attendance upon the Court with suits." The Queen's gift of the fine, far from improving his circumstances, or enabling him to pay off his former debts, had greatly added to his embarrassments; for "in pursuit of it he had already expended £200 in law and otherwise." Before long we shall find this sum rapidly growing into three, and finally into five hundred pounds—the full and precise amount of the fine itself—and had not his succession to the inheritance of his father-in-law, and his political troubles intervened, it certainly would have amounted to as many thousands before my Lord Barry ceased to petition for its remittal, or Florence for its payment. It was the Queen's own change of purpose that stood between the creditors of Florence and their money—it was but reasonable that her warrant should interpose also between him and their impatience:—

"1594. Sept. 29. FLORENCE MAC CARTHY to SIR ROBT. CECILL KT.

"It may please yo^r Hono^r to understand; where, at my last beinge here, by reason of the longe continuance of my restraint and troble for

the space of five yeres, havinge both wife and children here at my charges, I was constrayned not onely to morgadge and lease what livinge I had, but also to runn very farr indebted here, whereuppon it hath pleased my very good Lo. the Lord Trërrer and the rest of the councill to grant me a warrant that I might not be arrested or trobled untill I had received som benefitt of the suite wch Her Matie bestowed uppon me for the satisfieinge of my creditors, wch beinge since hindered by myne adversaryeis last beinge here, wherby I could nev^r since receiv any benefitt by the same, wherefore I humblie besech yo^r Hono^r to be a mean that the sayd warrant (which I have sent here enclosed to yo^r Hono^r to peruse) may be now renewed againe, for the wch I shall think myselfe most bound to pray for yo^r Hono^r; and even so wth the remembrance of my most bonden duetie I humblie take leue this 29th Sept. 1594.

“fLOR. M^cCARTHY.”

With his mind at ease, at least upon the subject of his personal freedom, Florence was ready to resume his legal combat. The time occupied in the business of procuring the warrant, and restoring the temper of his creditors, afforded no interval of rest to the mind of the Secretary from this wearisome contest; for the Irish despatches bore their usual burthen of accusations against Florence, and Barry's customary wailing over his poverty and his fine. Sir Robert Cecyll may have been pleasantly surprised for once at learning that his correspondent had generously accompanied his letter with “a present of three Hawck and a coupell of hobbies;” but he could not fail to perceive that, in commenting upon the issue of his recent charges against Florence, Barry was scarcely mending his previous indiscretion, by which he had so greatly offended his judges; his present accusation glanced aside from his adversary, and struck straight at the honour and loyalty of the Lord Deputy, and the Vice-President; for he charged them, in as temperate phrase as he had at his command, with refusing to entertain his evidence, and with partiality to a man accused of treason:—

“1594. Oct. 1. BARRY to CECYLL. *Written from Ireland.*”

“R^t Hon. Sir my dutie wth moost hartie thancks remembered for your manyfold curtesies and great frendly favors by me ther lately received, wherof sithence I have enjoied the benefitt. Florence M^cCartie hath lately repaired thither, wholly bent yf by false suggestions and practises he may worck my hurt, whath proceedings have bene used against him touching the articels I preferred against him, and the directions made in that behalf to the late deputie, I am not acquainted wthal; butt that I doo know there was no stricte course observed be tacking examinations upon presumptions and surcumstance against him, and yf I have felt any favor extraordinary don to the said Florence, I do in regard of dutifull reverence for so highe authorities omitt to charg any; but I

dare affirme and assure your Hon^{or} that yf Florence be dealt wth on sort as his dissembling and cunning requires, he shall be found, upon tharticles that I have ministered against him, a practiser and conspirator wth the rebels and enemies, of Spain, and also a quocker and sturrer of rebellion here in Ireland by Donell M^cCartie base son to thErle of Clancare whose rebellious accions have trubled this quiet state chiefly of the English inhabitances in Kerrye, and have brought many subjects to ther end with loss of ther blood of the said Florencis Conspiracie wth the said Donell; and sturing this rebellion manifest is extant by examinaçons takn by Justice Smythes late chife Justice of this pvence of Mounster, wch examinaçons ether returned to the late L. Deputie, or elsh remaineth wth the said Justice Smythe's widow, himself being dead; and for as moch as the said Florencis bad practises in this traitorous actions do touch ore Sovereigne in the highest d'gree I humbly and hartly beseche yo^r hon^{or} so to mannage the course of pceeding wth him as Her Ma^{tie} service being circumspectly pvided for, my true informaçons may take soch place as my zealous affection hath deservid and expected, and that for my duetifull good meaninge I be not hardly spoken nor thought of; I also besech yo^r Honnor to p'vent such suts as the said Florence may p'ferr against me, for my fyne, the which Her Ma^{tie} granted unto him, and after by yo^r honourable meanes was revokd by Hir Highnes, for I am not able through many losses susteyned by me to paye the same at this time; and as Hir Highnes hath forboren the paiment therof hitherto that yo^r Hoñor so work Hir Highness pleasor, to contynue for tollerating the same till ether my habilitye may afourd the paiment, or Hir Matie be further inclined to remett the same by my good service here. I could not by so well furnyshed for my absence in England that I myght visite yo^r Honor wth soch tokens as my good will could wishe or y^r honourable favor deserve, onely at this tyme I pray your Honor to accept of these thrie Hawck and a coupell of hobbies, wch as a poore rememberance of bounden dutie I do send yo^r Hoñor by this berer my servant. I could have sent yo^r Hoñor som more hawck, but that Florence, before I came into Erland tock an eary of my hawck, and coñytted many other spoils upon my tenants. So altogether leaving to your honourable favor and frendship I humbly take my leave.

“Barrye Courte this 1st of October 1594

“DAVID BUTTEVANTE.”

Few things more curious are on record than the confidential correspondence between Sir R. Cecyll and Sir G. Carew; plain dealing phrases that meant but one thing were of so much more importance to these men than any safer diplomatic ambiguity of words, that we are left in no obscurity as to the opinion of these writers respecting the men who, like Barry now, and the Earl of Thomond a little later, poured out their confidence to the Minister or the Privy Council. What Sir R. Cecyll thought of Buttevant's effusions, and of Buttevant himself, we shall eventually see in his own words.

(To be continued.)

Lord Mountjoie, knyghte of the most noble order of oure garter, oure Deputie Generall of oure saide realme of Irelande, by those pntes LICENCE AND AUTHORISE youe oure saide cosen thearle of Ormonde, or suche as youe shall imploye on this behalfe, as well to parlie with the saide Tirrell or anye other touchinge the saide ramson as to paie the same to anie of them when yee have thrōughlie agreed there vpon, authorisinge further hereby all oure officers and subjectes of the saide Realme to whome yt shall apperteyne to be aydinge and assistinge to youe oure saide cosen Thearle of Ormonde and suche as youe shall imploye in this behalfe. IN WITNES wheareof wee have caused oure saide letters to be made pattent. WITNES oure saide Deputie Generall at Dublin the last of August in the three and fortieth yeaere of our reigne.

(*Fragment of Great Seal.*)

“J. PHILLIPPS.
“Eꝯ p NA : PLUNKET.”

Mr. Geo. V. Du Noyer wished to correct an error which had crept into his note on the “Geology of the Silver Mines District” (p. 273, *supra*). The passage—“formed by an irregular isolated cake of rock,” should read “formed by an isolated cake of Old Red Sandstone resting on the denuded edges of the Lower Silurian rocks.”

The Rev. G. H. Reade alluded to a statement erroneously put into his mouth in the report of the January meeting (p. 229, *supra*), where he was made to say that a coin was lifted to the surface of the lake by the *leaf of a water plant*; the fact really being that the coin was seen on a *plantain leaf*, which grew on the soil of the island, and not in the waters of the lake.

The following papers were submitted to the Members:—

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF FLORENCE MAC CARTHY.

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY (GLAS), ESQ.

(*Continued from Vol. V., New Series, page 267.*)

WHILST Sir Robert Cecyll was pondering over the last favour of the Lord Barry, Florence was occupied in composing one of his most elaborate and successful letters to Lord Burghley, in which, after a spirited recital of his father's services and his own, and a fearless appeal to a multitude of great names in evidence of his veracity, he turns upon Barry and his father a torrent of invective, which, if its truth but equalled its burning and its bitterness, should have sufficed at once to settle the value of any charges which such an accuser could make, and to mark the Lord Buttevant as the one of Her

Majesty's subjects fitter than all others to be made to pay any amount of fine that could be extracted from him.

The Lord Deputy Fitzwilliams was now in England, and at hand, to give explanation of the conduct of Barry, past and present. Florence had brought with him letters of recommendation from the Vice-President of Munster, *one* of his recent judges; and, from the confidence with which he appeals again and again to the testimony of the Lord Deputy, it is sufficiently manifest that he was well assured of the good offices of *the other*. With unerring instinct both Florence and his adversary endeavoured to account for the rancour with which each thought himself persecuted, by attributing it to revelations which, in their conscientious loyalty, they had felt compelled to make against each other, of rebellious practices against the State. This argument was, no doubt, intended for the musings of Her Majesty; but Florence, with ready address, seized upon the unhappy slip of the Lord Barry relative to the seizure "*of all his means of living* as security for the payment of his fine," which evidently was but a sudden explosion of petulance, but which implied a grave charge against his judges. Fitzwilliams as well as Norreys had stigmatized that assertion as "*touching him in honour*;" and now that the former of these great functionaries was to be questioned on the matter, Florence assisted his remembrance of the circumstance by renewing Barry's charge, and appealing to his judge to satisfy the minister with respect to it. But the following letter contains matter of greater interest than any that can be derived from the writer's enmity to Barry. The reader has long since been informed that Sir Donogh Mac Carthy, the father of Florence, had taken an active part with the Queen's forces against the rebel Earl of Desmond, and that Sir Henry Sidney had thereupon pronounced him "*an especial man, and good subject, and desired that he might be nobilitated*;" this letter assures us that Florence continued in the same loyal track as his father; that during several years he had led his own followers against the earl, and received many marks of Her Majesty's approbation of his services; these seemingly plain proofs of his cordial support of English rule in his native country he used with vigour and effect to overthrow the accusations of Barry; they might be used by his biographer now for the assertion that Florence was, at least at one period of his life, a model of loyalty! Alas for the sagacity of Sir Henry Sidney! for the claims of Florence, or his father, to the gratitude of the Lord Deputy, or the Queen! the Annals of Ireland for 400 years furnish us with far other motive for the hostility of the Mac Carthys to the Fitzgeralds than loyalty to their English rulers. The great family feuds and alliances of the Irish and their Norman neighbours would explain many an apparent inconsistency in the conduct of individual chieftains. If a Butler or a Fitzgerald quarrelled with

the Queen's Deputy, certain Irish chiefs would assuredly share their blame as rebels, and others for a while acquire the fame of devoted and loyal subjects; their rebellion and their loyalty consisted but in their fidelity to their alliances, and to their rivalries; bearing this in mind, the reader will find less inconsistency in the conduct of Florence in the earlier and later periods of his career.

"1594. Nov. 29. FLORENCE MAC CARTHY to Lo. BURLEIGH.

"My very approved good Lo: my humble and most bonden dutie rembered: having allways since my coming hyther expected onely yo^r Lo^{ps} leasure to peruse what hath bene advertised out of Ireland concerninge me, to the end that yo^r Lo^p might thereafter take such order for me as you thought mete: and perceiving now that Barry myne adversary hath sent one of his men hyther, and hath, (as he is accustomed) written sundrye lies of me, as well to yo^r Lo^p as to others, onely to delay my dispatch, whereby I might be here consumed wth longe attendance, as I was already utterly undon wth the long continuance of my trouble, whereunto I was brought by his lyinge devices and fals informacons. In regard whereof I humbly besech yo^r honorable Lo^p to consider how farr he hath abused and misinformed yo^r Lo^p and the rest of the Councell at his being here, as Sir William Fitzwilliams can tell, and as appeares by such informacons as yo^r Lo^p received from Sir Thomas Norreys; for where he hath affirmed here that the best parte of his livinge was extended unto me, it is manifest (as I am sure Sir Thomas hath advertised yo^r Lo^p) that I received scarce 14 or 15 ploughlands, valued at £42 Ireish a yere, wch is not the 10th parte of that livinge wch he doth uniuersally holde! Also he hath accused me of divers haynous matters, wch he did constantly affirme here, that he wold *prove in Ireland*, where he could ney^r prove none; myself having remained there untill I answered all those matters before Sir William Fitzwilliams (unto whose reporte I referr myself) and Sir Thomas Norreys at Dublinge, and afterwards sufficiently satisfied Sir Thomas in Mounster for them all, w^hout wch I coulde hardly obtaine (since Sir Thomas informed yo^r Lo^p of these matters) not onely his pasporte to com hyther, but also his letters hyther, testifyinge how earnest and carefull I was to do Her Ma^{ties} service while I was in Ireland, wch he knowes I had performed yf I had not bene hyndered by these matters. Neyther do I think yf my former life be justly considered, but that I deserve well Her Ma^{ties} gyft, and he deserved very ill to live or enjoye anythinge under her Highnes; for his father who was a man of no regarde untill he attained to Barry Roe's Countrey by murderinge the heyres thereof, and also gott Barrymore's countrey by deceit and trechery, being not of Barrymore of Buttevant's countrey nor kindred, nor having nothing to do with him, nor never recolled anything by law, nor was never established by any prince; and being Sir John of Desmond's onely confederat to breede the last rebellion, he was therefore comitted by the Lo: Justice and Lo: Generall to the Castell of Dublinge where he was kept untill he died, wch is no good monument of his loyaltie: his son also, this Barry, having folowed the Earle of Desmond in all the last rebellion, burning and spoyleing Her Mat^{ies} subiects, and killinge and murderinge

her English souldiers, both in Bantrye and other places, who being afterwards pardoned, he hath a great while after kept secretly wth him one Walter Bregin, a preiste, who being still a chefe person wth him and with Doctor Sanders in all the last rebellion, was a great while after sent by the sayd Barry into Spaine, about som practices of treason, where he is still resident for him at Lisbune, yf he be alive; besides also that now of late, when I was here a prisonner, the sayd Barry, wth other accomplices of his, mett in a certen place, where they were swerne to a rebellious combinaçõn, and drank wine out of a chalice, uppon that condiçõn; and attempted in vayne one Owen M'Murty, agent, by whom Mr. Cormuk Mac Dermot is much ledd, in hope to bring Mr. Cormuk to enter therein: yee and had don worss yf Sir Thomas Norreys had not bene wise and vigilant inough to prevent his treason and vilainey, wch when I understood at my being there now, I inquired of Sir Thomas Norreys whether he understood of the matter, and he told me that he heard an inklinge thereof at the same time, and told me the manner of it; and as for myself I doubt not but here are som that have served under Sir Henry Sidney in Mounster, to whose report (*and to Her Ma^{tie} owne letters to my Father*) I referr how faithfull and forward my father was at all times to serve Her Highnes, who having bene wth the Lo: Deputye aforesaid at the siege of Balimarter at Glann-Moyr, and in all other places where he had occasion to use anyforces for Her Ma^{tie}, where he brought him more mē then any two in Mounster; and in Sir William Fitzwilliam's is time when the Earle of Desmond escaped out of Dublinge, I am sure Sir William (who wrote to him then against the sayd Earle, and received answer to his contentaçõn from him) doth very well remēber his constancie and faythfullnes to Her Ma^{tie}: and not onely Sir William, but also Sir Walter Rawleigh (by the reporte of his brother Sir Humfrey Gilbert), and divers others here, who remēbers what pains he hath taken, and charges he hath bene at, in Her Ma^{tie} service, both in the time of Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Sir John Perrott, and all such as goūned there. Myself also, beinge at the beginninge of the Earle of Desmond's rebellion but of the adge of 16 or 17 yeres, hauinge a litle before (uppon the death of my father) taken charge of his folowers, and his owne lands, since wch time I have eūr assisted in person in almost all the jorneyes that were don in Her Ma^{tie} service, both under Sir William Pelham, the Lo: Gray, the Earle of Ormond, Mr. John Zouch, Sir George Bouchier, and all such as goūned, or comāunded there; as is well knowē to Sir Walter Rawleigh, Sir Georg Bouchier, Capten Francis Bartly, and a great number of captens, officers, and Gent^l, which I do see here now dayly, who knowes when they wanted forces I brought them still readily 300 of myne owne men; and when the Earle of Desmond liued uppon the spoyl of the Earle of Clancartyes contrey, I wth above 300 of myne owne mē joined wth Sir Edward Bartly and his companie, and kilde his receiver Morice Roe, and others, and chased him out of that countrey, into his owne waste countrey, where all his men were constrained to forsake him; and being kept and maintained a good while by Gory M^c Swiney, a companie of my men wch I sent to serve uppon the rebells kilde the sayd Gory, wherby the Earle was kilde wthin a weke or ten dayes after, being not able to kepe himself without him any time. Of all wch matters both Her Ma^{tie} and yo^r Lo^p was suf-

ficently informed at my first cominge hyther, for which Her Highnes hath rewarded me ; the remembrance whereof, as well as of my fathers service and myne, as also of Her Ma^{ty} bountifull rewards and fau^r towards me (myne aⁿcesters, contrey, and kinred, hauinge also remained eu^e good subiects, wherby none of my Contry or name was neu^e stained) did at all times, and doth still, woork more in me, and is (as any man in reason may judge) esteemed more by me, then any frendship or familiarities that eu^e I had wth so light a fellow as Jaques was, whom I neu^e knew to be three dayes of one mynd, and wth whom I neu^e had very much to do at all, being but a device of myne adversary, for want of any matter to be found against me, as appeared when the matter was heard both in Dublinge and Mounster. Wherefore I most humbly besech yo^r Honorable Lo^p (whom I have always found my very good Lo: and best frend) to consider as well my father's service and myne, and his father's wiked murders and rebellious inten^cions, for the wch he died, together wth his owne trayterous inclina^con and oppon rebellion, as also myne imprisonment and troble these five yers past, wherunto I was brought by his lying deuices and fals informat^cions, during wch time I was constrained to lease, and sell, what living I had, having both wife and children here at my charges; besids also that this suite cost me in Ireland about £300, both in provinge the same due, in getting his assurance for the paiement therof, and in extending a small parcell of his land when he forfeited his assurance, and came hyther; in regard whereof, I most humbly besech yo^r honourable Lo^p (for that I am not able to live or maintain myself here any longer) to be a mean that I may haue som spedier order wherby I may receiv the benefitt of Her Ma^{ty} gift, wth considera^con for my charges aforesayd, which (I protest) I wold not desire yf it might in any sort preiudice Her Ma^{ty} or the State, as yo^r Lo^p may at large perceve, and be therin throughly satisfied by Sir William Fitzwilliams, who, wth Sir Thomas Norreys, had the hearing and determineinge of the matter, and who knowes what the oppinion of Sir Thomas and the councell is, as well of this matter as of me, and the sayd Barry; being rather an example to encoradge both himself and the rest of Mounster and Ireland to rebellious attempts, without regarde or fear of any punishment for the same, then otherwise, yf this fine were remitted; and being also a favour wch he neu^e deserved, nor was neu^e thought mete to be remitted in Ireland nor here; for himself beinge here about 7 yeres past to sue for a remittall thereof, he was denied; whereby Her Highnes may not remitt, nor respite the same now, having alrady bestowed it. Thus refferring both myself and the whole state of my cause to yo^r Lop's honourable considera^con, praing God to preserve and kepe you in health I humbly take leue this 29th of Nov^r. 1594. Yo^r. Lops allways most humble and bonden

“flor. M^c CARTHY.”

Barry, though his wits were not bright, nor his invention very fertile, was not yet at the end of his resources. Moreover, “the disgrace put upon him” had given new energy to the turbulent spirits of Munster, who, by their excesses, furnished him with new grievances, all of which, as his wont was, he laid to the charge of Florence. Donal the bastard was again upon the prowl! He and

his loose swords had broken out anew from their bogs and fastnesses, and were behaving in the most "unjust and unchristianlike manner to Nicholas Browne, spitefully killing his horses and cattle, taking preys of his Town, and making his life miserable;" and Browne, again at the head of his Hoggsden chivalry, was daily sallying forth in pursuit of the fierce destroyer! When the Brownes took a lease of the lands of Mac Carthy Mor, they should have leased together with them the services of the hereditary Bard of the Sept, for this feud was worthy of the inspiration of Fyn O'Daly; nay, not an unbecoming theme for the harp of Oisín of the Fians. In default of professional song, Nicholas Browne was compelled himself to chaunt the incidents of that rural contest, and the reader will admit that he has done so in language highly creditable to his feeling and genius. But vain were all attempts against Donal! he was neither to be starved nor caught:—"The ordinary food of these rebel Irish," the minister was informed by one of his English correspondents, "is a kind of grass; neither clothes nor houses do they care for; hounds can scarcely follow them, much less men." The man was not yet in Munster who was to capture or tame that fleet-footed outlaw. In a fit of despondency, opportunely timed with Barry's renewed attack upon Florence, Browne betook himself to write the chapter of his wrongs to Lord Burghley. Nothing more spirited has been penned by any of that Minister's correspondents than the description of the chase, "through woods, boggs, rocks, mountains, and glains," after Donal; nor more touching than the tremulous cadence in which that high spirit declares that "now at last tidings of a worse matter have reached him! A new adversary had sprung up—one Finin, calling himself Florence—a man who, by great promises, had induced all the Mac Carthys in Cork and Kerry to make a common purse to aid him in his projects." If Nicholas Browne felt for a moment the despondency he so pathetically described—if he at that time of writing contemplated waiting but for a gentle *caveat* to realize what stock Donal had left him, and to be gone—he greatly wronged his own chivalrous spirit. He had inherited his seigniory, he had fought many a spirited fight to hold it, he would yet stand many an onslaught from the freebooters who surrounded him, he would transmit that seigniory unimpaired to his son, Valentine II.; and by sword and pike, the means by which he had held it, would it continue to be held to the fourth generation. This noted family feud lasted nearly half a century; many of its vicissitudes were happily veiled from the vision of Nicholas Browne, who, when his letter was sealed and sent, and his heart unburthened, took fresh courage, and was reconciled to his lot. And now for the misdeeds of Donal, whose fortune it was to have as many biographers as there were English functionaries and English letter-writers in his native land!

"1594. *December 4.* NICHOLAS BROWNE to LO: BURGHELEY.

"It may pleas yo^r good Lordship to understand the uniust practizes, and unchristianlike y^t hath bein used against me by the Clancarties, since first my father had his signorye allotted him in those lands of O'Donogho Moor, and Coshmainy; the w^h lands uppon the Earl of Clancartyes surmises (after my father had drawne many menne over to his great charge) we were disposest by derection of Hir Ma^{tie}, notwithstanding his title was as good thereunto, as to any other of the excheted lands throughout all Mounster, w^h since, I have found to my cost and hinderaunce: for wheras the Earle produced wittnes here to prouue the freholders of those lands to be his tenants at will, w^h bare proff being accepted of him, we thereupon, by way of morgage, agreed wth him for those lands, and Hir Ma^{tie} graunted us Hir gratusious pattent for the reversion of them after his deceas; w^h morgage, when I thought quietly to enioy, I found many parcells of those lands possest by divers gentlemen, by vertue of estates made unto them by the freholders, and by law cannot be recovered from them; the triall whereof hath cost me very much; yea, and the Earl himself doeth detain som part of them by device of former conveyance from the freholders to other men, yet he continuing in the possession of the same; whereby yo^r Honnor may perceive how hard an estate I rest in. Hir Ma^{tie}'s title, w^h was iust, she hath not defended; and the Earl's title, w^h was none but fals suggestions, being brought to the true triall, falls out to be of no validity, to my undoing.

"Besides these crosses his bastard sonn continuing still in rebellion, hath cruelly murdered my men, spitefully killed my horses and cattel, tooke praye of my Towne, and laid divers malicious plottes for mine own life, w^h other men thinks to be donn by the procurement of his father, to drive me, by the terror of such dealings, to forsake my lands; I iudg more charitably; yet may not trust him, for the like outrages have not benn used to any of the English inhabitaunts and undertakers that are his neighbors; but those courses, and God will! shall not serve his tourne (though my life be miserable in the mean time), for I have followed him through woods, boggs, rocks, mountains, and glains, wth companyes of men, to my great charge and pains (as all the English and Irish in the province can testify); I have drawen his followers from him; divers have I killed; and brought some to the triall of the lawe; and lastly, though my fortune hath not extended to the getting of his head (whereof I do not despaire); yet I have reduced him (being principally assisted by the good countenance of worthy Sir Thomas Norreys) from three score, to himself and two others, comfortles and frendles. All these devices and wrongs, my good Lord, since I have borne their chefest heat, I am the better armed, and animated to oppose myself against any second attempt, if the like shold happen; but now I am enformed, and certainly knowe, of another course, w^h terrifies me very much, as tending to my overthrow, and may prouue no less daungerous to the rest of the undertakers, w^h is one Finin M^cCarty, who calls himself Florence, who by reason of the late troubles, and disgrace he procured to the Lord Barry, hath drawne such an opinion amongst the Irish of him, that the Barron Coursey hath, at his last being there, givin him possession of his chefe House of Down M^cPatrick, an auncient Fort against the Irishry; and as many

as are his frends in the countrys of Desmond, Carbry, Muskry, Dowalla, have, as yt were, erected a coñon purse to further him to those great matters w^h he promises them, and assures himself. The Lord Coursy's land he enioys as much as was in the old Baron to give him. To be Lord of Carbry he doubts not of, as belonging to him by custom of Tanistry. But his great matter is to be M^cCarty More, w^h by one of two means he will seek to procure; the one is by his wife's right, w^h can be no more in hir then was in hir uncle's daughter and heir; this Earl's eldest brother, who never had any part of the contry allowed hir; nor indede had any woman before hir amongst the Irishry: the other (if he dares not seu for so great a matter as the Earldom), yet sute must be made eyther by his Father in law, his wife, or himself, for thre of M^cCarty Mores houses, the w^h if any of the Clancartyes be in possession of, they will ever be in hope to recover the whole jurisdiction that M^cCarty More hath had in times past; and if it were but in right of those mannors, to whom the cheif rents and sarvices (w^h are M^cCartys greatest living) were alwayse due. The said Florence hath also brought over, upon his charges, one of the O'Mahownes, a pore man, and of no rekonng in the country, to serve for Kinalmeaky (the signory allotted to Mr. Beecher and others,) and upon recouery thereof is to have the one half, as is generally reported, and thereupon divers of Clan Donell Ro, Rosbrin, Clan Dermond, w^h many others from all parts, will deal w^h him in like case; to the great disturbance of such undertakers, and the Quenes fermours, as are planted upon those places. I protest to yo^r Honor that the great reports that the Irish makes of him in Desmond hath kept English away from planting themselves under me, and those that ar alredy w^h me are in fear that all there former endeavors haue bein in vain, and the rather for that the said Florence and his wife having benn at variaunce, and seperated almost all the last year; the cause of there falling out, as she hath reported, was whither his followers, or hirs, shold inhabit my lands, w^h makes me somewhat jealous of the man; for I *knowe* him to be ambitious and subtle, *a great briber to his power*, frended by som great menn *of Irland*, who have procured him favourable countenance w^h som of *great calling* in England, an importunate sutor, and indede the onely daungerous man in Mounster, having benn brought up, and *in league w^h James Fitz Morrice*, Docter Saunders, Sir William Stanley, and Jaques; wherefore I most humblie entreat yo^r Honnor (upon whose help I onely relye) to tender my case but thus much, that eyther you will prevent his rising, whose present Estate can never preiudice anie of Hir Mat^{ies} loyal subiects, nor be able to better yt, w^hout speciall favor to countenance him from hence, or else, if there be anie intention to rayse him, and the House of M^cCarty More (w^h by God's handywork is now utterlie extinkt) in the hart of whose countrie, most daungerously, I dwell; that you wold in compassion give me an honourable caveat whereby I may in som good time, recall me and mine, w^h our lest damages, from a place so perilous; and we (who ar a great many) shall be bound daly to pray for long continuance of Yo^r Honors life. Thus most humbly craving pardon for my tedious boldnes, I leave Yo^r Hon^r to the tuition of ThAlmighty.

“Your Honor's most humble and daly Orator,

“NICH^b BROWNE.”

Nicholas Browne pleaded earnestly, but not ingenuously. He knew that the condition of Florence's wife was utterly unlike that of her uncle's daughter, to which in his letter, he had compared it ; the latter had not succeeded to the lands of MacCarthy Mor because her father had left a brother, to whom, by tanistry, the chieftancy and the lands belonged ; nor would Lady Ellen have succeeded either, had the Earl her father left brother, nephew, or cousin male, to survive him, and had it not pleased the Sept to elect her husband as their chief, in default of heirs male of the elder branch of the Mac Carthys. The reader will shortly have an opportunity of seeing how differently Florence, or his legal advisers, handled the question thus incidentally opened. However, this spirited production was not without its effect upon the mind of the Lord Treasurer ; certain passages, as the reader will have noticed, are in *italics*, in the original they are underlined, and, doubtless, by the pen of Burghley himself. It is interesting to remark to which of the sentences of his correspondent he attached the most importance. All the able exposition of Browne's wrongs and rights, all his lamentation over the evil treatment he had experienced in Desmond, passed without eliciting any mark of ministerial sympathy ; even the spiteful conduct of Donal, and the wonderful chase of that evil spirit through the wild scenery so suitable for the abiding place of outlaws and murderers, appears to have possessed little interest for the Lord Treasurer. But the passages concerning Florence evidently sank deeper into his mind ; they were of a nature sufficiently suggestive to revive all the suspicions of which he had been the object for the last ten years ; they were made, also, with as much assurance as the accusations of Barry. The writer declares that he *knew* that Florence was "ambitious and subtle ;" this, doubtless, Lord Burghley knew also ; it needed no underline to impress it upon his memory ; but Browne *knew* furthermore, that he was "a great briber to his power—that he was friended by some great men in Ireland, and by some of great calling in England." These were daring assertions ; and had the writer possessed the "prudence and wisdom" of Florence, he would scarcely have ventured to make them ; they might one day require great courage—a quality in which, to say truth, Nicholas Browne was not deficient—in case those marks of the English Minister's admiration were meant to keep these passages in his recollection as well for Browne's elucidation, as for his own guidance. It is difficult to avoid believing what the writer declares that he *knew* ! And certainly, Florence's repeated extrication of himself from situations full of danger, is more easily explained by this assertion of Browne than by any other means. Effusive and refreshing as this letter was, the mind of the writer was not yet sufficiently unburthened ; the "expected greatness of" Florence MacCarthy towered over his imagi-

nation, and appeared to him to cast a lurid shadow of coming peril over the state, of which the English authorities seemed fatally unobservant. The following letter was a fresh attempt to awaken the alarm of Lord Burghley. The map alluded to in it is said to be "wanting" amongst the State Papers; but in a collection of maps of the time there exists one, probably more correct than any which Browne could have got up at short notice, of the Earl of Clan Care's Country: if to this had been appended a map of Mac Carthy Reagh's country, the fertile and far-spreading plains of Carbery, and to both a list of the "rights of chiefry," and especially the number of fighting men due as *rising out* from these countries to their chiefs, the alarm-cry of Browne, at seeing all this greatness about to fall to a man whom he declared to be in heart a rebel, might justly seem to the Privy Council a warning not to be neglected.

"1594. Dec. 21. NICHOLAS BROWNE to the LORD TREASURER.

"My very good Lord. I was bold, the last day, to trouble yo^r Hon^r wth the relation of the troubles I haue endured amongst the Clancartys; and now that those being past, newe fears ariseth of the endeavors of Florence M^cCarty, and by his expected greatnes, wherefor that Yo^r Hon^r might the better concieve of the quanty of the countrys w^h are like to be, as y^e were, subiect unto him, if he may enioy all that he promises himself, I haue drawne a mapp^l w^h I humbly desire yo^r Hon^r to accept of the rudeness thereof; and thus, wth my humble duty remembered, I ceas to trouble you.

"NICH^s BROWNE.

"*Hogesden.*"

In spite of all, Florence had recovered the confidence of both the Cecylls, and continued to urge, with increasing vehemence, his attack upon his adversary, with an occasional blow, and a severe one, at Browne, who, since his disappointment with the Earl of Clancar's daughter, had given himself consolation by marrying Barry's niece. Quickly following upon Browne's able summary of his own grievances, and the misdeeds of Donal, was despatched another petition from Florence to the Lord Treasurer, which happily contained one passage which the Minister judged deserving of consideration. He underlined it, and it is probable that it went far to neutralize the accusations of Browne, and to turn back his suspicions upon the head of the accuser.

"1595. Jan^y. 11. To Lo: BURGHLEY.

"My very approved good Lord, my humble and most bonden dutie remembered. I can hardlie judge whether mine imprisonment and trouble for five or six yeares, to the losse of my living, which I was constrained

¹ Wanting.

to lease and sell them (whereuntoe I was brought by such false and malicious informations of mine adversarie Barry, as he procured Sir Warham Salinger to prefer hither for him against me), was more hurtful, chargeable, troublesome, and damageable untoe me, or this Fyne of the said Barry's, which Her Majestie bestowed uppon me; who, onlie to delay the payment of the said Fyne, (which is all his intent and purpose) he hathe, for want of anie matter against me, forged, and alledged that all such Irishmen as went from hence beyond seas in seven or eight years (whose names he learned amongst his countrymen here) were sent by me to one Jacques, with whom I was onlie acquainted in Her Majestie's service, as I was with every other capten here, being contented to lose my life if ever I have seen him, or received one letter from him in two yeares, or thereabouts, before he went out of England; for all which matters having satisfied the Lord Deputie, and Vice President of Mounster, untoe whom they were referred, I came hither before Michaëlmass last, to satisfie your Lordship, and the rest of the council alsoe, in person for them; since which time I have alwaies waited here about your Lordship, and am readie to satisfie your Lordship and the rest, either for these, or anie other matters, that are delivered since by his nephew, Nicholas Browne, Sir Valentine Browne's son, who married his niece, and who is here for him, to prefer such devices as he sent by himselfe, and to him, to be preferred. Browne himselfe alsoe bing one who doeth not a little malice me, *by reason of my wife's father's lands, which he holdeth*; Wherefore I most humbly beseeche your Hon: Lordship to be a mean that I may be speedily brought before the council for these matters, as soon as time serves, whereby I may not perish here for want of maintenance, having spent all that I got amongst my friends to bring this sute to an end in Ireland, and to come hither about it.

"Thus beseeching God to preserve your Lordship's health, I humbly take leve this xj Jan^y 1594.

"Your Lordship's most humble and bonden

"H^{OR}. M^CCARTHY."

In the printed catalogue of the MSS. preserved at Lambeth, it is asserted that Tome 626, a thick folio of pedigrees, is "in the handwriting of Lord Burghley;" this is erroneous; the writing is Sir George Carewe's;¹ but scattered through the Irish State

¹ Although entertaining no doubt whose was the handwriting of this volume, the author of these pages is able to present to his reader the more trustworthy opinion of a gentleman probably more familiar than anyone living with the wrting of Carewe, and who has had numberless occasions of perusing also the writings of Lord Burghley. The authority in whom so much confidence is expressed is John Maclean, Esq., of the War Office, editor of "The Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew," and of the

"Letters from Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew." It may be remarked that Mr. Maclean has appended to each of these volumes copious genealogical notes, evincing very great research, and written in a style singularly condensed and clear, which are admirable models of genealogical annotation. Mr. Maclean's opinion is sufficiently explicit and positive:—

"I remember," he writes, "having had some conversation with you respecting the handwriting attributed (by the

Papers there exists a multitude of genealogical scraps, written by Lord Burghley on the margins of letters, sufficient to prove that the Lord Treasurer, if not a lover of pedigrees for their own sake, was by no means insensible to the importance which might at any moment attach to them. The correspondents of the English Minister were constantly sending to him lists of "the descentes of the meere Irish," and "pedigrees of the Lords and Gentlemen of the Irish nation."¹ It is not then surprising that an assertion, however true, yet probably thrown out by Florence at random in one of his recent letters, "that Barry had no claim to the title and lands he held," and "that his birth was obscure," should have caught the attention of the Lord Treasurer, and that he should call upon the writer for proof of its truth.

By no man living, except perhaps Fyn O'Daly, the great bard of Munster himself, could such explanation have been so promptly furnished. Florence had cast this slur on the birth of Barry on the 11th of January; on the 15th, the pedigree of Barry Roe, of Barry Mor, of all the Barrys, was ready, showing how "James of the Rath in Ibwane (who not long before, in murdering of his cousin Redmund Barry, and his brothers, had made himself Lord of Ibwane, otherwise called Barry Roe's country), did by Treason get into possession of Barryscourt, which is the Lord Barry's chief house, and by strong hand dispossessed the Lady Catherine, wife to the now L^d Power; which castle and country he possessed during his life, calling himself Viscount of Buttevaunt, which title and possession David his son at this present doth enjoy, in prejudice of the right heirs of James Barry, the true and lawful Viscount Buttevaunt." Florence writes that "he sends enclosed" the information which Lord Burghley had required. The inclosure referred to is not to be found with the letter, nor is any trace of it discoverable at Lambeth; but in Carewe's collection of pedigrees,

'Lambeth Calendar') to Lord Burghley; and I have no hesitation in stating now, as I did then, that it is that of Carew. The handwriting of the latter is very familiar to me. I know also that of the former, and I cannot be mistaken. Whilst there is some general resemblance between the writing of the two, in detail there is a considerable difference. I am glad to be able to establish this fact; for Carew was a higher genealogical authority than Burghley, especially as relating to Irish families. Volume 635 of the same collection I am equally well acquainted with; the pedigrees therein are also in the handwriting of Carew."

¹ In the year 1601, a certain Richard Ha [dsor?], a lawyer, wrote to Sir Robert Cecyll:— " . . . I drew a dis-

course web^b was presented by Capt^a fitz gerrald this last winter unto y^r ho: importing the genealogie of all the greates howses, and gentlemē of the meere Irish, comonly called the Wyld Irish, wherein here lynage and discent frō the aun-cient Irish kings, and ther kyndred, and allyaunce one to another is sett forth." This discourse has, unfortunately, been lost sight of; it can scarcely be that a volume of so much value should have been allowed to perish. Attention is invited to the fact, that this work of Ha [dsor?] is not known to exist in any public library. If it be in any private collection, its owner would afford a gratification to very many of the descendants of these "Wyld Irish," if he would make known at least its existence.

in fol. 635 of his MSS., there is a copy of the Barry pedigree in Carewe's handwriting, introduced with these notable words:—"This Pedigree was given me by Florence Mac Carthy;" the one in Florence's handwriting is, as far as we know, lost; it was sent to Burghley, not given to Carewe. Surprising as it may appear that at the period those words of Carewe were penned—when Carewe's Presidency was over, and his victim was in the Tower—any literary courtesies could have passed between men circumstanced relatively as these men were, there is yet no doubting the truth of so positive an assertion; nor, indeed, is it the only instance in which Sir George Carewe availed himself of the unrivalled stores of national lore of the man whose fortunes he had so ruthlessly and so basely ruined; for in the pedigree of his own family he quotes matter derived from "a chronicle belonging to Florence." Certain it is, however, that Florence sent his account of Barry's family to Lord Burghley, and a fresh and bitter attack along with it; letter upon letter to the same effect followed; and it is astonishing that the Minister should not long since, were it only to withdraw himself from such a tempest of angry correspondence, have referred the matter to some tribunal for inquiry.

"1595. Jan^r. 15. To LO: BURGHLEY.

"My humble and most bonden dutie remembered. I have according to yo^r Lo^{ps} pleasure sent here inclosed the names of the last Vicounts of Buttiavañt, wth such issue as remaines of them, wherein I have alsoe made mençon of the Barry Roes of Ibwane, otherwise called Barry-Roe's contre, and of James Barry, this supposed Lo: Barryes father, who descended of a bastard of Barry Roe's house, and contry; as also by what meanes the sayd James did attaine, first to Barry Roe's contry, and afterwards to the Lo: Vicount Barrymore of Buttiavaunt's contry, by whose son this Barry is fals and malicious informaçons (wch about the time of my marriage he procured Sir Warham Salinger to preferr against me) I haue suffered aboue fīue yeres imprisonment, to myne utter undoeing and the loss of my liuinge wch I was constrained to lease and sell, to maintaine myself and my wife here in my sayd troble; after the which having by yo^r Lo^{ps} honorable meanes and furtherañces obtained of her Ma^{tie} to satisfie my creditors here, a Fine due unto Her Highnes of the sayd Barry, for the payment whereof, the Lo: Deputie and counsell took sufficient assurance of him, wch notwithstanding he hath forfeited, and came hyther contrary tothe Vice President of Mounsters comaundment and theirs; who said (to delay payment) all the Irishmen who had left Ireland were sent by me to Jacques, who being Sir Willeam Stanleyes Lieutenant in Ireland, I fell acquainted with him there in the last warres, having then (wth four or five hundred of myne owne men that folowed me) served against the Earle of Desmond, and Barry, who was with him; at which time I not onlie purchased the said Barry's illwill, but made acquaintance, not with Jacques onlie, but with all the captens in the same service, which is all that I had to do with Jacques, having (I protest) never seen

him in a year and a half or two years before he went from hence. All which matters, as the said Barry preferred here against me (whereupon he obtained letters for the possession of a small parcel of lands which the sheriff, by due course of law, and by the Lord Deputy and council and Vice President of Munster's several commandments, did extend, and deliver unto me, for the said fine), being by your Lordship and the rest of the council referred to the Lord Deputy Sir William Fitzwilliams, and to Sir Thomas Norreys, before whom I appeared, the said Barry being also come thither from his country, where he staid a good while after his arrival to seek proofs and witnesses, of all which matters (notwithstanding he was there in person to urge and prefer them), I have cleared myself, and satisfied for them all, both Sir Thomas Norreys, and the Lord Deputy who is here now, and to whose report I refer myself; whereupon the said Barry, having then no other way to delay payment (which is all his intent and desire), he promised to produce more witnesses in Munster, where he brought sometimes one mean ignorant knave or other of his own, other whiles he procured some of the country gentlemen to be sent for, who knew nothing of the matter; whereupon Sir Thomas (finding by them nothing worthy to bring me in question for it) wrote hither of all their proceedings; and afterwards, I, being desirous to satisfy in person for all those matters, your Lordship and the rest of the council, to whom they were first preferred, I came hither before Michellmas last, with Sir Thomas' favourable letters and passports; since which time I waited here for that purpose, and am ready to satisfy your Lordship and the rest, either for those, or any other matters that are delivered since by his nephew Mr. Nicholas Browne. Wherefore I most humbly beseech your Honorable Lordship, whom I have always found my most approved good Lord and best freind (seeing I have no means to maintain myself after so many troubles (this fine having causet me above £300), to be a mean that I may be brought before the council for these matters, where I desire no other favour but what your Lordship shall judge my desert to be worthy of it. So beseeching God both to send, and preserve your Lordship health, I humbly take my leave this 15 Jan^y 1594.

“*flor. M^cCARTHY.*”

The scruples of Barry touching his present obedience to the queen's order for the payment of his fine had been based simply upon his knowledge of Florence's unworthiness to have it; he had sent in his charges, and they had been replied to; but the matter was kept open for further charges, and further explanations. We are indebted to this dispute, tedious as the main subject of it had become, for more knowledge of the private life of Florence Mac Carthy than to any other incident of his career. Matters were looking unpromising for Barry and Browne, when the genius, apparently of the latter—for Barry had scarcely the resources of his nephew—opened a new subject of attack of a sufficiently hopeful appearance, but destined to a termination more disastrous for them than the old story of Jacques and Stanley. They had seen the necessity of strengthening and extending their alliance against their able and

vigilant opponent. It was not difficult to find men to join with them in any attempt to damage the character of a man whose prosperity must be their ruin. Amongst the many who, during Florence's imprisonment, had found means—the means were very simple, a body of the queen's soldiers allowed for the protection of undertakers—to help themselves to his lands, was a Mr. Rogers, who had with little ceremony bestowed upon himself no less than twenty-nine ploughlands. Florence was not likely to be long at liberty without seeking the recovery of 3190 acres of his patrimony, the precise amount appropriated by Rogers, hence was this gentleman ready for the alliance of Browne and his uncle. Since the death of Sir Owen Mac Carthy, Donal Pipy, now Mac Carthy Reagh, had groaned under the burthen of the bonds which a dozen years before he had signed to transmit Carbery after him intact to Florence ; Donal, then, was also ready for any association that promised him relief. Out of these bonds arose the strategy of a new and loud-sounding assault. What influence Barry and Browne possessed with the Minister they had fully discovered ; that Donal Pipy, and Mr. Rogers were likely to possess more, might be fairly doubted ; but it so was that the last-named gentleman had espoused the daughter of “a reformed English highwayman,” who—by one of those wonderful strokes of luck which leave it beyond doubt that the son of Maïa, “*furax, et furum magister*,” can at times get access to the wheel of fortune, and give it such a whirl as human eyes but seldom see—had become the Lord Chief Justice of England ! and before this great legal and influential functionary was laid the family compact which was the great grief and the temptation of Donal. Sir John Popham readily consented to come to the rescue of the fair estate of his daughter's husband. All these gentlemen, it may be remarked, accustomed themselves to call the lands they occupied *their* lands ! Browne called the lands of Balecarbry and Molahuff *his* seigniory ! Mr. Rogers, with as good reason, called the pleasant slice he had taken off the lands of Carbery *his* estate ! A document bearing an alarming indorsement, and which is a pleasant specimen of the Lord Chief Justice's legal skill, but which was void of all entertainment to Florence at the time, resulted from this combination of many interests against him. It needed, indeed, much cunning and subtlety to be always on his guard against attacks so incessant, and so various ! Florence's vigilance rarely failed him ; before the legal document was ready, he had himself related and explained to Lord Burghley the entire matter of the bonds, as well as the motive of the Lord Chief Justice in assailing him.

The explanation given in the ensuing letter by Florence of the matter of these bonds, and of the custom followed by the Government of indemnifying the Tanist in cases where the actual chief

chose to avail himself of the Queen's invitation to surrender the sept-lands, and resume them to be held by English tenure, and with lineal succession, is interesting and instructive. The object never lost sight of by the Government of Elizabeth was "the dissipation" of the great Irish estates. It was the policy most clearly enunciated by Sir Henry Sidney, and continued to be the policy of the English Privy Council till every chieftain's estate was in fact dissipated. By no means could this dismemberment of Irish territories be more equitably effected than by the plan followed in some instances, and to which Florence offered contentedly to submit himself; this was by "dividing the countries amongst such individuals of the sept as stood within the range of succession to the captaincy by usage of tanistry." What effect resulted from the attempts of Donal Pipy to repudiate his bond, and how Florence fared as to his rights both to the captaincy and to the lands of Carbery, the reader will see in the sequel!

"1595. *March 21.* FLORENCE to LO: BURGHLEY.

"My humble and most bondē dutie remembered: Your Lo^{ps} honourable and continuall fauours alwayes towards me, aswell in obtaininge Her Ma^{ty} bountifull reward for my service, and Her Highnes gracious accepta^{ti}on thereof, myne enlargement out of the Towre where I was (to the loss of all my livinge wch I was constrained to morgadge, and sell) brought into six yers imprisonment and troble, by such fals and malicious accusa^{ti}ons as myne adversary David Barry, whom I offended in Her Ma^{ty} service when he was a traytor wth the Earle of Desmond, procured Sir Warham Salinger to preferr against me; as also yo^r Lo^{ps} honorable oppinion lately delivered to the Councell of such malicious informa^{ti}ons as the sayd Barry hath deuised against me, doth move me now in myne extreme miserie and greatest distress, being otherwise hopeless of any relife or comfort, to betake myself onely unto yo^r Lo^p as my most honorable patron and best frend; and perceiving lately that myne adversary being out of hope to hurt me wth his last deuices (som of those knaves for whom he accused me, being kild under Sir John Norreys in Brittain, and another retourned from thence hom into his contrey, as his Capten Petter Cripps and Sir John Norreys is soldiers can testifie), wch moved my sayd adversarys Barry and Donell Mc Carthy, alias Mac Carthy Reogh, havinge at the Lo: Chiefe Justice of Englands beinge in Ireland, procured his frendshipp against me, by meanes of his son in law M^r Rogers, and M^r Woorth, agent of his, who in myne absence dispossess me, and one of my men, wrongfully of 29 ploughlands, unto whom the sayd Barry and Mac Carthy, for want of other matters against me sent a Bond wherein Sir Owen Mc Carthy and I are bound not to hinder Donell Mc Carthy (who is now MacCarthy Reough), by surrender or otherwise, of the seignorie of that countrey after Sir Owen's death. The sayd Donell himself being also bound to me and to Sir Owen's heires in like sorte, he being also the occasion of all that agrement, who when Sir Owen Mc Carthy, about 12 or 13 yeres past was determined to com hyther,

the sayd Donell gott him to enter into those covenants fearing lesst that Sir Owen wolde surrender the Contrey wch he possest then, and convert the same to the use of him and his heires, of wch bond my Lo: Chiefe Justice (by their instructions and at their request) made now a great matter to Her Ma^{tye} against me, who was never the auctor thereof, wherein I know not who I have offended, Her Ma^{tye} the law, nor any body els; the sayd custome being not generally abolished by statute, nor forbidden any of my name in particuler; but a power onely geven to him that is in possession to surrender, and my father who succeeded his elder brother, and Sir Owen, and this man, having enioyed the sayd contrey, all in Her Ma^{tye} raigne by that custome: But yf Her Ma^{tye} or yo^r Lo^p, and the rest of the Councell will at any time think fitt to suppress that custome, and to make a division of the countrey betwene us who are lawfully interested therein, as was don wth the Brenby for the O'Reyllies, the Anally for the O'Farrells, Beare and Bantrie, and divers other countreyes, I shalbe contented to surrender my right, and putt in sufficient sureties to hold myself for ever satisfied wth such a por^ōn as shalbe by yo^r Lo^p and the rest, allotted unto me, so as myne adversary will do the like; and for that I rest here in a most extreme state having not (I protest) 3 ploughlands nor £3 rent any where. The fyne wch Her Ma^{tye} bestowed uppon me having also cost me £500, whereby my wife (being great wth childe) is constrained to go from place to place among my frends for want of meanes to live, wherefor I humbly besech yo^r Honorable Lo^p, as I have allwayes found you my most approved good Lo: and best frind, to extend your accustomed faour towards me now, in aquainting Her Ma^{tye} wth the state of this matter, and the former matters whereby Her Highnes may be as well satisfied in them as yo^r Lo^p. Thus beseching God to preserve yo^r Lo^ps health I humbly take leaue this 21 March, 1594.

“Yo^r Lops most humble, bondē

“and thankfull

“fflor M^c CARTHY.”

“1595. April 1. To the Right Hon: my very approved good Lo: the LORD BURGHLEY, Lord High Tre^r of England, &c.

“My very approved good Lo: My humble and most bondē dutie remēbered, I have according to yo^r Lo^ps pleasure sent hereinclosed the copie of the bond wherin Donell Pypy is bound to me, wch as I told yo^r Lo^p was don about 12 yeres past [1583], and neū don, I protest by any compulsion of Sir Owē, but onely by the sayd Donell's meanes, who when Sir Owen was about to com hyther at that time the sayd Donell got him to enter into those couenants, fearing less that Sir Owē wold surrender the contry wch he possesst then; and where yo^r Lo^p hath enquired who was heir of the said contrey; as for my parte I know not a more lawfull heir then *myself*, seeing Law doth allow *custome as well in Englande* as in Ireland, and that custome hath bene ever inviolable kept there, wch yf yo^r Lo^p and the rest of the Councell do think fitt to take any indifrent order for the contrey, yo^r Lo^p shall fynd me more conformable then Donell Pypy himselfe or Dearmed Mc Carthy, or Donogh Oge Mc Carthy, or Donogh Mc Owen M^c Carthy or Florence M^c Owen, or any other of the Cept: assuring yo^r Lo^p that neyther they, nor the Councell

of Ireland, nor Governor of Mounster doth not think it to be any parte of yo^r Lo^{ps} meaning to disherit *the whole Cept, because Donell Pypy is the eldest brother's heir*, being a thing that was never don in Ireland hytherto, For in Beare and Bantrye although Donell O'Sullivan was the eldest brothers heir, yet Sir Owen O'Sullivan's heir, being but the second brothers son hath the best parte of the contrie. In the Brenhy also wher custome was lately suppress, although Sir John O'Reylly was, in possession, O'Reylly, and the eldest brother, yet his owne second brother, Philip, and also Edmonde O'Reylly and Cahir O'Reylly have almost as good a porcōn to every of them as the sayd Sir John. Fergus M^e Bryen O'Farell being the eldest brother's heir having not so good a porcōn of the Analie as others of the Cept. Wherefore seeing this is but a device of myne adversaries to hurte me being a thing don manie yeres past by the whole Cept, and the sayd Donell Pypy himselfe being auctor thereof, and that I am ready to abyde the tryall of Law in Ireland for the whole matter, or els to surrender my right into yo^r Lo^{ps} hands, and to submitt myself to yo^r Lo^{ps} and the rest of the Councell's order, I humblie besech your Hon. Lo^p, as I have allwayes found you my most approved good Lo: and frend, to satisfie Her Ma^{tie} both in this, and in the rest of their deuces, for the wch I shall (as I have ever had cause) rest most bound to pray for yo^r Lo^p.

“And even soe I humblie take leve this 1st April 1595.

“Yo^r Lo^{ps} most humble and bonden,

“flor : M^e CARTHY.”

With the last two letters before him Lord Burghley was well prepared for the reception of the formidable “report” which the allies, Barry, Browne, Donal Pipy, Rogers, and Worth, and the Lord Chief Justice of England, had at last launched against the owner or heir of so many seigniories and lands which these men coveted :—

“1595. July 8. *Report on FLORENCE, supposed by POPHAM.*

“Touching Florence M^e Carthy, wherby he is deemed the dangerousest man of all the Irish nation.

“—— he hath bene holden to be a most connyng and subtil pson, and at my being in Ireland was esteemed to be mere Spanyshe. *He was combynd with Desmond in hys rebellion, and hadd prepared forces to have joyned with that party in accion*, but was stayed by the meanes off Donell Mc Carty (now Mc Carthy Rewe of Carbery) and off one Randall Oge as the same Donell and others affirmed to me in Ireland. *Imediatty before the Spanyshe ptended Invasyon this Florence deptyd into Ireland with yo^r Ma^{ty} gude grace & Favour*, but psentlie upon hys comyng thyther, he marryed the Daughter and heire to the Earle off Clancarre beinge Mc Carty More, and the cheiff of all the Mc Cartyes, and then gotte from that Earle one of the cheiff places of strengthe in all Desmond, and at that very tyme alsoe gotte from Sir Owen Mc Carty the old Hedd off Kynsale, being holden a place off the gretyst strength in all Mōnster, and both these places most tending upon Spayne. *At that very tyme also ther passed curryers and messengers*

*betwene thys Florence and Jaques that notable Traytor, as both the Lo: Barry and Donell Mc Carty then informed me ; and as yt might appeare by my Lord Treasurer's speches, Patryck Collene that was sent over by Jaques to have kylled yo^r Majestie had heretofore served Florens M^c Carty ; and yt may welbe supposed that this Patryck Collene was the man that was the curryer betwene Florens M^c Carty and Jaques, when Donell Mc Carthy (who onely ought to enioy Carbry by Letters Pattents from King Henry VII) was put out thereof by Sir Owen M^c Carthy, the same man, during the nō age of the said Donell, the said Sir Owen through hys greatness forced Donell at hys full age to enter into great bands (I saw a copy of that band) to pmytt Carbry to goe in Tanestrye according to the Irish costome, and not according to the Letters Pattents, wherby Florens M^c Carty expecteth certenlie to be Mc Carty Rewe next after the death of this Donell : So by these meanes the said Florens mytbe both *Mc Carty more* and *Mc Carty Rewe*, and therby become farre greater in Munster then ever was Desmond, and greater then any man in all Ireland, that hath ben in this age, for O'Sulyvan More and O'Sulyvan Bere they do depend on Mac Carthy More ; The O'Driscoes do depend upon Mac Carthy Rewe : The Lords off Muskry and Duallow being both great territories are off the Mc Cartyes, and depend upon that cheiff house, and so do diuers other pettie Lords of smaller terrytories all wch do lye, the one upon the other from Cork above sixty myles together westward upon the very uttermost pts next towards Spayne, The more he ptendeth to pvent the greatnes off others in Ireland the more (in respect off the pmisses) yt may be doubted that yt ys but an ambicious plott in tyme to mak his own advancement the more certen and the gretter. Yt ys to be noted that the Mc Cartyes do ptend to come lynyally from that King off Munster that was expelled upon the conquest of Ireland."*

How so shrewd a man as Sir John Popham should have lent himself to the adoption of accusations and assertions so nonsensical, on the mere information of Barry and Donal Pipy, both of whom perfectly knew their untruth and their absurdity, is surprising! Fortunately for Florence, either by the power of his friends at Court, or his position in his own country, he was lifted beyond the reach even of the Lord Chief Justice! Could that fierce and iniquitous judge have placed him at the bar of his own court, Barry and his nephew might have returned in peace to Ireland, secure against any further vexation from their adversary. Popham, in the days of his prosperity, had by some admirer of himself, or his luck, been styled "*a reformed highwayman*." He had been a thief in his boyhood ; for the first rudiments of morality he had received from the Gipsies, who began by stealing *him* ; he had, indeed, as his encomiast observes, been a highwayman in early manhood ; but he had been also a "gambler," and a "drunkard !" Of reformation of these sins or infirmities, the less that is recorded, the more is the room left for hope to our charity ! But, alas ! that the exactness of historic truth should be conjured away from notice by the magic of this friendly epigram ! As well might it be said of a certain Lord

President of Munster, a contemporary of Popham, that he was “a *reformed* murderer.” In the long career of these men, traces of reform are no where discoverable! The one man stole whenever opportunity offered him to steal, as Florence had long since discovered; the other murdered again and again, as the reader will see, and as Florence was also very nearly discovering to his cost! His great address preserved his property from the reformed thief! his great prudence and wisdom—they called it his cunning—his life from the reformed murderer! Knowing the character of Popham, even as a reformed man, and the great motive he had for the ruin of Florence, we may be surprised that the charges which he had been so long preparing should be so tame, and contain so little of novelty! To assert that Florence had been “an abettor of Desmond’s rebellion, and only prevented from openly joining him by the loyal persuasions of Donal Pipy!” was to betray an amount of ignorance of the public transactions of his time sufficient to cast discredit upon any statement he might make. Florence “had served for eight years, *with the Queen’s commission*, against the Earl, and received Her Majesty’s approbation, and many favours, for his zeal and loyalty,” as was well known to the veteran Ormond, who had commanded Her Majesty’s forces through the many years the rebellion lasted. The story of the bonds entered into between Donal, Florence, and Sir Owen M^c Carthy, was already explained; a copy of the document was in the hands of Lord Burghley, and Popham’s malignant misrepresentation of the transaction harmless! The remainder of his charges were but the faded calumnies of Florence’s intimacy with Cullen, Stanley, and Jacques; and his warnings were but the perils foreseen in the vision of St. Leger, many years before, and recorded in his tracts. Such, however, as they were, the Lord Chief Justice laid them before the Privy Council; and Her Majesty had thus a fresh witness that Florence was “a most cunning and subtil man;” and a fresh warning to look well into what hands had fallen “The old Hedd of Kynsale.”

(*To be continued.*)

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF FLORENCE MAC CARTHY.

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY (GLAS), ESQ.

(Continued from Vol. V., New Series, page 353.)

SHORTLY after Florence had written his last letter on the subject of his cousin, the bonds and the succession to Carbery, another glimpse of political life, fleeting as all former ones, excited his hope for an occupation more dignified than his long pursuit of Barry's fine. O'Neill, Maguire, O'Donell, and others were in arms; there was much moving of troops, and a few skirmishes; but O'Neill was not yet prepared to push matters to extremity with the Queen's Government, nor were the authorities anxious to take extreme measures against him, and thus cut off all hope of reconciliation. Hence, though the Lord Deputy had an army on O'Neill's borders, proposals were constantly under consideration between both parties for O'Neill's submission. The reader has seen that upon a former occasion Florence had been desirous to be employed as a mediator between the Northern chieftains and the Government; he seized the present opportunity to renew the offer of his services, and to make one more trial upon the patience of the Minister relative to the matter of "the said fyne."

"1595. July 8. FLORENCE MAC CARTHY to SIR ROBERT CECYLL.

— "And now understanding that not onelie the rest of the Gent^r of Mounster, but also by reason of myne absence, my young^r brother is, w^h som forces prepared by the countrey, to accompanie the Lo: President to this service; For that I have had som experience heretofore in Her Ma^{tie} seruice, hauinge allwayes ledd three or four hundred folowers out of that countrey to serue Her Highnes, and don better seruice then anie Gent^r of Mounster, for the w^h I was, at my cominge hyther, not onely fauorable used by Her Ma^{tie} and the counsell; and hauing now diuers folowers there who haue serued long in the North, and doth know that countrey best of any other, hauing comaunded manie, and attained to great reputa^{cion} there, by whose meanes, and knowledge of that countrey, and by other wayes w^h I wold willingly acquaint yo^r hono^r w^hall, I doubt not but that I wold quiklie do hir Ma^{tie} good seruice yf I were there; and forasmuch as I am by the loss of liuing in my troble, and the sute of this fyne, w^h cost me aboue £500, destitute of meanes to liue, I humblie besech yo^r Hon^r that I may haue yo^r furtherance, eyther to obtain the benefit of the sayd fyne, according to Her Ma^{tie} graunt, w^h by Her Highnes letters in the behalf of myne aduersarie was onely stayd untill such matters as he deliued against me had bene heard, or els that I, and my wife, may enioie to us, and our heirees males, two parcells of my

father in law is lands, w^h he morgadged, the one to his said daughter my wife, for her mariadage goodes, and thother parcell to others there, of whom she will redeme it, or otherwise, to obtaine that Her Ma^{tie} will allow Sir Thomas Norreys two hundred Pounds of the composiçõ of Mounster, and graunt Mr. Harbert Pelham, and George Goreinge som consideraçõ here for those two parcells of myne owne liuinge w^h I was constrained to morgadge, and lease; the one to Sir Thomas, and thother to them, in the time of my troble. Thus humblie besechinge yo^r Hon^{able} fauour, and furtherance, especially in dealeing w^h my Lo: yo^r Father for me, and conferringe w^h him hereof: and w^h of these things yo^r Hon^{our} shall think metest, I will, uppon knowledge of yo^r Hon^{our}s pleasure, procure Her Ma^{tie} to be moued therein; So w^h the remembrance of my most bonden dutie, beseching God to preserue yo^r Hon^{our}; I humblie take leue this 8th July 1595. Yo^r Hon^{our}s most humble and bondẽ to comaund.

“flor: M^cCARTHY.”

The attention of the Minister was called away from these contentions, but not from the chief party concerned in them—for it was to be his lot to have the affairs of Florence before him to the last day of his life—by the voice of a man almost as open an enemy of Florence as Barry himself. A despatch from Sir Geoffry Fenton brought tidings full of import to the destiny of Florence: his father-in-law was near his end, and the first note of warning of a fresh storm was sounded! The man whose story of his poverty filled so many letters had but lately “drawn to himself the old Head of Kinsale.”

“1595. Oct. 17. *Endorsed*:—SIR GEOFFRY FENTON to LORD BURGHLEY: delivered at Kinsale to a bark, 17 Oct. 1595.

“In my journey from Kinsale to Baltimore along the sea coste, I find that the old Head of Kinsale is latelie drawn into possession of Florence M^c Cartie, now about the Courte in London; and as I learne from his neighbours, he hathe morgaged most parte of his owne patrimonie in the inland countrie to this end: and in truth I find that in all these partes there is not one soe fitt to be made the head of a faccion. There is no other cause for alarme here; for the Geraldines are all under foote; and the Lord Barry, and the M^c Carthies, are so addicted to the plough, and husbandry, &c., &c. The Earle of Clancar, who is M^c Carty More, is so poore, and sicklie as there is noe reckoning to be made of him, or his name.

“GEOFFRY FENTON.”

During the whole reign of Elizabeth it was the custom—encouraged by her successive ministers—for every petty functionary in Ireland to write frequent, long, unofficial letters to their particular patrons in the Privy Council; the consequence of which was,

that there poured daily into England a vast flood of loose, contradictory, and malignant charges against men whom the writers, for whatever motive, desired to injure. From these charges no man who had anything which his neighbour coveted could escape; hence is the voluminous correspondence, preserved in the "State Paper Office," a vast *repertorium* of the gossip and private history of the time. This letter of Fenton is a fair specimen of the official correspondence of his day; of such rumours, and such suspicions, were the despatches from Ireland full. As long back as May, 1589, Sir Thomas Norreys had written home that "Florence had compassed the title of the Old Head of Kinsale, and was the same day that he was apprehended mynded to ryde thether to take possession of it." If Florence had mortgaged his lands to effect this purchase, he must have mortgaged them six years before Fenton wrote. It has been mentioned that he had inherited great wealth; he certainly needed not to mortgage the greater part of his property to possess himself of Kinsale! Another correspondent had written that the old Lord de Coursie had given this old fort to Florence, and with it as much of his lands as it was in his power to give. We are informed by the "Carbriæ Notitia"—a MS. often quoted by the late learned Dr. O'Donovan, and a copy of which is in the possession of the writer of these pages—that "Sir Donogh M^cCarthy gave to his son Florence no less than 27 ploughlands, as I think, worth £1500 per annum; so that 'twas said this Florence his estate in Carbry was better than his estate by his Wife, Heiress of M^cCarthy Mor." Certain it is that as long as he was a free man, that is, up to the time of his marriage, Florence appears rather as a lender than a borrower. The reader will recollect his appearance before Sir Thomas Norreys, and his obtaining that gentleman's letters into Desmond to authorize him to enter into possession of portions of the Earl of Clancar's lands, because that nobleman had failed in the performance of certain conditions on which he had advanced money to the Earl. It was not until the time of his trouble, when the gates of the Tower were between him and his resources, and the host of men who had invaded his lands, that he was compelled to enter into the traffic of lease and mortgage with money lenders in London, with his friends about the Court, and with the Vice-President of Munster, Norreys himself. Fenton possessed the keen eye of a detective, and had the credit of being a spy upon every Lord Deputy who came to Ireland; hence a saying that "he was a moth in the garments of every Lord Deputy of his time:" his passing glance was relied upon by Lord Burghley as seldom erring, and his opinion as a safe guide mostly; he was now able correctly to report what his own eyes beheld; that "the followers of the Lord Barry, and the M^cCarthyies were all addicted

to the plough and husbandry;" but wonderfully erroneous were the conclusions he drew from it, and from what he learned from their neighbours! Before long, every man in Munster, where "there was no cause for alarm," was in arms! The Geraldines, that "were all underfoot," mustered eight thousand weaponed men, and shut up all the Queen's forces within a circle of a mile or two of the city of Cork! and, notwithstanding the many warnings of Norreys, St. Leger, Browne, Barry, Popham, and Fenton, Kinsale and its old Head, "a fortress erected against the Irishry in times past," was left undefended, to welcome the Spanish fleet when it came.

This letter of Fenton had no ill effect upon the fortunes of Florence; happily for him, he was in London at the time, and at hand to give to Lord Burghley any explanation that he might think requisite. Sir Geoffry Fenton had returned from Kinsale to Dublin, and been sent thence, with Sir Robert Gardiner, to Dundalk, to conduct one of the various negotiations with the Northern chiefs for a truce. Shortly previous to his leaving Dublin, Florence arrived there. He had brought with him letters from the Lord Treasurer, not only to the Deputy, Sir William Russel, and to the Council, but also to the Vice-President of Munster, about his suit; from which it would appear that the English Minister had at length handed over that wearisome matter to the local legal authorities. The opinion expressed by Florence in the following letter, of the little knowledge that his countrymen had of the great power of the Government which they so recklessly defied, gives the reader a clue to the after conduct of the writer, which neither Carewe nor his own countrymen seem to have understood. Florence perfectly well knew, not only the number and the character of the Queen's forces in Ireland, but the matchless resources of the English nation, and the fierce resolution of Elizabeth to empty the whole treasure of her kingdom, and to send every British soldier into Ireland, rather than that her pride should be made to bend before the pride of O'Neill, and that rebellious subjects should bring discredit upon her reputation, in the face of those Continental powers which she most hated. The opinion of Florence has been repeated by Cox, in the very words in which Florence wrote it:—"The Irish chiefs were grown into such extreme pride and folly, that they were standing upon great terms." The first of these terms was "a general liberty of conscience." The sequel showed that the interpretation by these foolish Irish of the motive of the Queen's "strong desire of a Peace" was the true one. All that resulted from the diplomatic ability of Gardiner and Fenton was a truce for three months. How much respect was shown by Fenton to the bearer of the Lord Treasurer's letters Florence did not fail to make known to the writer.

"1596. April 13. To SIR ROBERT CECIL.

"It may please yo^r Hon^r, hauing about the time that Sir Robart Gardner came hyther, deliuered my letters to the Lo: Deputie, by whom, and the rest of the Councell (onely Sir Geffrey Fenton excepted) I was honourable used, and told by his Lo^p that I shalbe well imployed yf there by any occasion, but I was denied of a protection, because the Judges who are of the Councell, wold grant none. The Lord Geñall hath on Friday laste being the Freeday before Easter, taken his journey towards Dundalk to parle wth the Earle of Tireowen, who as I do heare coñonly reported is (yf, as it be suspected, he doth not dissemble) desirous to accept any condiçons of peace that her Matie wilbe pleased to grant him; but O'Donnell, and the rest of those fooles, are growen into such extreme pride and folie, by reason they have neyther witt, knowledge, nor experience to iudge or weigh her Mats power, that they stand uppon greate tearmes, as it is sayd; but I pray Good the Earle himself have witt or grace to show now his thankfullnes for the great aduancements that he hath receiued at her Ma^{tie} hands. Before the Lo: Geñall departed I had conference with his Lo^p concerning those of the North, and wold have gon wth him, but that I haue no credit, nor acquaintance wth the Earle of Tireowen, but before his Lo^p departed I told him what credit and acquaintance I had with O'Donnell, and what good hope I had, uppon conference wth him, to bring him to som good conformitie, as also that I was very willing to venter my life, or bestow any paines or travayle that lay in me to benefit her Ma^{tie} in what sorte soever his Lo^p wold direct me; whereuppon his Lo^p, accepting well of myne offer, willed me to stay here at Doubling for the space of ten dayes, and that he wold parle wth the Earle; and yf O'Donnell be there his Lo^p will send for me; or yf he find the Earle conformable to any reason he will send for me and send me to O'Donnell. In regard thereof I haue omitted to go into Mounster wth my Lo: Trŕer's letters about my suite, or about any other busines, untill I know whether my service here now, may in any sorte auayle or benefitt her Matie; but I wrote thither that som souldiers may be in areadines for me, yf the warres be not now at an end, and so hauing thought fitt to acquaint yo^r Honor herewthall, and what myne endeu^r may do herein The Lo: Generall will acquaint your honour withall.

"1596. I humble take leue this 13th day of April yo^r Hono^r. most humble and bondē.

"fllor: M^cCARTHY."

Were there not such undeniable evidence of reality in the animosity of Florence towards Barry, we might be tempted to suspect that all the long noisy contest for the £500, and the reiterated story of the ruin to his finances occasioned by it, was but the present of a little dust—"pulveris exigui parva munera"—for the eyes of the authorities, both in Ireland and England, whilst he purchased a harbour in which to receive the Spanish fleet, and a fortress which in other hands might dispute its entry. What his enemies repre-

sented as a "common purse made up for him to enable him to do the great things he had promised them" was, with much apparent ingenuousness, avowed by Florence as means supplied by his friends to enable him to bring this vexatious suit to an end, and to bear up against the ruinous legal charges occasioned by it. But a great crisis was at hand in the fortunes, both pecuniary and political, of Florence! The Earl of Clancar, who had been sickening when Fenton last wrote, died towards the close of the year 1596. It is in vain that we turn to the "Annals of the Four Masters" for some few passages of eulogy upon this great Irish Lord. Sir Donogh and Sir Owen Mac Carthy, the father and the uncle of Florence, as the reader has seen, both received their tribute of commendation from the chroniclers of their country; Mac Carthy Mor was a greater chieftain than they; could these writers have conscientiously recorded one word of veneration or regret for him, they would have surely written it! All that they record is, that "Mac Carthy Mor died; namely, Donnell, the son of Donnell, son of Cormac Ladh-rach, son of Teige; and, although he was usually styled Mac Carthy Mor, he had been honourably created Earl by order of the Sovereign of England. There was no male heir who could be installed in his place (nor any heir), except one daughter (Ellen), who was the wife of the son of Mac Carthy Reagh, *i. e.* Fineen; and all thought that he was the heir of the deceased Mac Carthy, *i. e.* Donell."

It would be well for the fame of this English Earl if the enumeration of his illustrious ancestors could stand with sufficiency in the stead of personal virtues; if the names of Finin of Ringroan, of Donal Mor-ne-Curra, of St. Cormac of Cashel, could reflect so much of their patriotism, their gallantry, and their piety upon this last male descendant of their elder line, as to turn away the mind of the reader from seeking other merit from their descendant! Can nothing, then, be discovered, absolutely nothing, decently to cover the memory of this descendant of so many chieftains? Must the last name of an illustrious roll pass out of sight into ignominy with that pitiful letter of Herbert as the sole just *epitaphium* of Mac Carthy Mor? Alas! little can be said over the dust one would so willingly hold in honour! but yet not absolutely nothing! The reader has but too often had occasion to see that the Earl's private life had not been edifying; he may be surprised to learn that out of this infirmity of his nature has proceeded what remains best to be said of his memory!

"Donald Mac Carthy," we are informed by the very learned Edward O'Reilly, in his "Transactions of the Ibero-Celtic Society," created first Earl of Clan-Carthy this year (1565), was author of some poems, two only of which have reached us—1. A small poem, of sixteen verses, beginning *Órlúth éruağ bó meap meirí* 'A sorrowful vision has deceived me;' 2. A poem of forty-four

verses, beginning 'Uc an uc! a mhu,pe bu,be.' 'Alas! Alas! O benign Mary;' a pious address to the Blessed Virgin Mary."

MacCarthy Mor had rather consented to be made an Earl, than solicited the honour. He was removed from the usual inducement of surrendering his lands, and resuming them from the Queen; for he had an only son, and neither brother nor nephew, who might, by usage of Tanistry, delay his son's succession; but it was the fate of this unwise nobleman to be in constant oscillation between rebellion and submission. In one of his periods of disgrace he found himself compelled to secure the pardon of Elizabeth by accepting this Earldom, which brought upon him the jealousy and scorn of Shane O'Neill. Had the acceptance of this title been unattended by the exaction of any equivalent, the English reader might, perhaps, think that the Earl had been rather rewarded than punished for his disloyalty; but this Earldom carried with it conditions which no just sovereign could impose, no honest man accept. MacCarthy Mor was called upon to resign into the hands of the Queen lands which were not his own! and to resume them as her free gift, with succession to his son! and in failure of heirs male, supposing his son to die without issue male, the reversion of the said lands to be in the Queen! Thus were the parties to this iniquitous bargain committing three grievous violations of the rights of other men; for, first, the lands were sept lands, not the property of the life occupant, to make subject of traffic and conditions; to the sept alone, from whom he had received them, could MacCarthy Mor resign them, and from them alone could he hold them. Secondly, the succession to the high trust of Headship over no less than "14 Lords of countries" depended, not upon the accident of Donal M'Carthy's leaving issue, or no issue, but upon the free election of those Lords, as much as the succession to an Earldom depended upon such arrangement as the Queen might choose to make! And, thirdly, the reversion of the lands was the undoubted right of any one qualified to hold, and regularly endowed with them by the free election of the sept. With no care on the part of the Earl but to avert a present danger, and no consideration on that of the Queen but to abolish the rights of chieftry and of sept election, and, as opportunity might offer, to dissipate the largest remaining Irish estates in the South of Ireland, this bargain was made. The supposed case occurred; the Earl died, and his son died, and no male issue survived them. The reader has been already informed that the young Baron Valentia had been seized in his childhood as a hostage for his father's good behaviour; and that shortly after the death of the Earl of Desmond, his uncle, the authorities in Dublin, anxious to be rid of so great responsibility, had sent him to London; from London he was sent back to Dublin, destined to receive his education in the Castle there. "Within four months the boy unduti-

fully escaped to France." His cousin Fitzgerald, the son of the great rebel of Desmond—a child like himself—was shut up in the Tower of London. It was not likely that as long as this imprisonment lasted young Valentia would desire, or be allowed, to return to Ireland; before long the follower of his father, "who had enticed and conveyed him away," was found begging in Desmond "for some relief for the young Lord." From France this boyish exile never returned. We learn, incidentally, by a letter from Florence Mac Carthy, that he died in that country. His death must have taken place before the Christmas of 1588; for at that time was written by Sir W. Herbert to Walsingham, the notable letter in which he says that, "besides the 6000 Acres which he meant to take, he was desirous to have other 6000 Acres after the Earl of Glinca's death." Browne, too, was at that same period bickering with Herbert over the lands of Bally M'Daniel and Smerwick. It was not till the latter days of the Earl's life, when Florence was evidently rising in favour at Court, as was shown by the matter of Barry's fine, that any of the Undertakers had the least doubt but that, at the Earl's death, the whole of his possessions would be seized by the Queen, and distributed amongst such of them as might be so fortunate as to stand well with one or other of the great Lords of the Privy Council. How many attempts to blacken the reputation of Florence these men made the reader has seen; how successfully he had been able to discredit or explain away all their charges was hidden from their eyes till the Earl's death, when his great possessions were to be distributed. No sooner was the breath out of the body of Mac Carthy Mor, than began such a scramble for the lands of Desmond as had not been seen since the great forfeiture of the Fitzgeralds; but it was presently discovered that the political condition of Ireland had made Florence Mac Carthy a person of importance, and the Undertakers not only of no account, but a source of weakness to the Government, on which fell the discredit of their evil actions; and it was at once perceived that the only claimants to the Earl's inheritance likely to meet with any consideration were his widow, Florence in right of his wife, the Earl's only legitimate child, and Donal the base son. Each of these separate claims was referred to lawyers and functionaries of the Irish Government, in order that upon their recommendation the Queen's decision might be made. In the mean while a tremour passed through every English home in Munster, and "the poor English Gentlemen" made a final attempt to communicate their terrors to the Privy Council. No more was heard about the thousands of acres which these men "meant to take," but their prayer was to be "protected from the revenge of Florence Mac Carthy, who was not likely to forget the loss of so many of his near kinsmen and friends." Had the common dread of Florence's ambition been less deep-rooted than it was,

some at least of his adversaries might have seen rather a gain than a detriment in his succession to the inheritance of his father-in-law; for, were he once in possession of the vast Lordship of Desmond, the succession to Carbery would be of less importance, and the fine so clamorously contested would not be worth the time and vexation spent in the pursuit of it. But Barry probably knew that he had offended his adversary too grievously to be forgiven; Mac Carthy Reagh may have considered the acquisition of Desmond as but a more certain means of securing the succession to Carbery; but for the Brownes, who appear to have thrown the bulk of their fortune into the Irish land scheme, who for many years had dedicated their skill and industry to the amelioration of *their* seignior, the prospect was one of utter ruin. It is true that Browne was in possession of his patent, which purported to secure to him, on payment of a moderate yearly rent to the Queen, the enjoyment of his lands in perpetuity. It was surely too late now for Florence, or any one else, to tender payment of the sums lent to the Earl, and so to clear off the mortgage? Alas for the inexperience of Nicholas Browne! He was a model farmer; he was a match for Oisín in song, and his son Oscar in valour! the voice of his anger, when he threatened the head of his enemy, was terrible as the shrieks of ghosts; the deathless echoes of the tramp and splash of his Hogen-den horsemen through the glens and bogs of Desmond may scare the peasantry of those weird solitudes to this day; but in the niceties of legal dialectics what chance had he with a man who from his cradle had been associated with lawyers—whose father, uncles, and other lords “had,” as the Cork jurors complained, “wrought such a policy to entertain all the lawyers of the province, whereby no freeholder nor poor man could have a lawyer to speak in his cause, be it never so just”—whose pathway through life had been a network of legal springes—whose feet as instinctively gave tidings of their ambush, as the antennæ of insects of the meshes spread by *their* attorneys for *them*—and who had made the succession to the estates of the Earl his especial study for years past? A flight of suits and suitors was presently winged across the Irish Channel; and in lodgings in Westminster, in chambers of the Inns of Court, was to be fought a fiercer and more effective fight for the lands of Desmond than had been fought in the contested country itself by Raymond le Gros and the ancestors of Florence. Browne with his patent, Barry with his charges, their allies, episcopal and political, turned their faces to the decisive battle ground where the Lords of the Privy Council were to decide the matter. If anything could add to the displeasure with which Browne contemplated his position, it must have been that the man who had been the plague of his existence for so many years was to meet him where neither good Sir Thomas’ warrant nor the Queen’s horsemen could avail

him. Donal, the Munster Robin Hood, as it was the pleasure of his English biographers to call him—that flitting, fiery light of the Swamps of Desmond—would be already awaiting his arrival in London. This man—nurtured in woods and bogs, knowing no pursuit save the pursuit of Browne’s cattle, no pastime but the worrying of Browne’s English peasantry, and the wanton destruction of every thing that was Browne’s, knowing, and desiring to know, nothing of patents or mortgages, law or lawyers—this man, whose plunderings were countless, whose murders were not a few, who had “preyed a Church,” and would gladly have burned an Archbishop, if Miler M’Grath, the Pope’s ex-Capuchin, Her Majesty’s Southern Metropolitan, had fallen within his clutch—was now metamorphosed, as if by magic, into an ordinary civilized subject; and, putting aside the raiment of his country, and attired in decent hose like Browne himself, was actually repairing with his parchments and papers, like any common suitor, to the lawyers, and Ministers in London! Donal, with his name in whole volumes of English correspondence, who could walk over pitfalls, for he saw them not, fearlessly presented himself before the Vice-President of Munster, and requested letters of recommendation to the Lo: Treasurer; and Sir Thomas Norreys, with his usual urbanity, furnished the letters, and Donal departed.

There is, doubtless, something remarkable in the readiness with which Sir Thomas Norreys afforded his letters of recommendation to Florence upon all occasions when it was of urgent importance to him to have them. We have seen instances of this already, and we shall see more of them hereafter. Some little exercise of compression upon his conscience may have been requisite upon these emergencies; but, if so, how great a violence must he have done to its susceptibility in wording as he now did a letter in favour of Donal! An anonymous writer, towards the end of the year 1598, gives a commentary of his own on the conduct of the Vice-President towards Donal, and all who, like him, lived after a law of their own:—“In Munster, anno —,” says this writer, “Donell Mac Carthy, a bastard of the Earl of Glincar, greved, as he said, that his father allotted him no maintenance, fell into open rebellion, preyed and spoiled many, and gatt manie roges to follow him. Sir Thomas Norreys, then Vice-President of the province, protected him, and procured him his pardon. — Small resistance to the rebell, and small ayde to the subject, did the President give! When anie came to complain that he had lost his cows, ‘Why,’ sayeth he, ‘must I keep thy cows?’”

Had Lord Burghley invited Nicholas Browne to explain to him his meaning of that passage of his letter which he had underlined, doubtless with the intent of seeking such explanation, “I know him (Florence) to be a great Briber to his power,” we should have

escaped the danger of guessing, upon occasions like this, whom he had in his hidden thought when he wrote. But Donal now intended to tread in the steps of the Lord Chief Justice of England, to reform his life, and to hold his possessions—those he had in prospective—according to English tenure, by submission, that is, to statute law, in so far as it related to his accepting the protection of English authority against Browne and the Queen's horsemen. Hence Sir Thomas Norreys may have had the less reluctance to furnish him with the character which he intended to deserve. From the letters of Browne, of Norreys, Herbert, St. Leger, and a multitude of others, the reader has had plentiful opportunity of forming an opinion of the character of Donal; with this present to his mind, he will more easily appreciate the social value of Donal's brethren, the other base sons, three in number, whom the Earl left behind him, when he is informed that the Vice-President of Munster was able to assure the Lord Treasurer that Donal was "of all this base brood, the one of beste reputacion." He had been "reclaymed to duetifull offycess;" and Sir Thomas was of opinion, as were also the other gentlemen charged with him to report upon Donal's claims, that it would contribute to the quiet of the country of Desmond to allow him to inherit the lands left to him by his father's will.

"1597. 14 January. NORREYS and others to the Privy Council in favour of DONELL M^cCARTHY, base Son of the EARL of CLANCARR.

"It may please your moste Honourable good Ll: to be advertized that this bearer Donell M^cCartye, base Sonne to the late Earle of Clancare deceased, myndinge to repayre into Englande desyred our l^{res} of testymonye of his carriadge sithence he was by us reclaymed to duetifull offyces, and also in commendacon of his suyte w^h he meaneth to make to Her Ma^{ty}. Truely he hath verye comendable, cyvyll, and duetyfullie behaved hymselfe sithence his comynge in uppon Her Ma^{ty} protectyon. In regarde whereof we haue byn the rather moued for his better mayntenance to contynue his possession in the pcels of landes w^h he can shewe to have byn conveyed unto him by the said Earle in his lief tyme (althoughe some ceremonyes wanted w^h thextremitye of the lawe in transmutation of possessions requyrythe) And nowe that wee understande the said Earle to have ben but tenant in Tayle of the said landes, the reversion in Her Ma^{ty}, and therefore uppon his deathe without yssue inheritable to the same, his intereste in the said lande verye weake, wee humblye commende his suyte (w^h he meanythe to make to Her Highnes for the said landes) to your Honour's favourable consideratyon. And likewyes that yt will stande wth y^r Ll: good pleasure to grant l^{res} for the passinge Her Highnes pardon unto him (yf it shall so seme good to yo^r Ho^{ty}.) w^h suytys beinge to him graunted wee thinck shalbe a verye good occasion to settle great quiett in the contrey of Desmonde. The consideracon whereof wee most humblye leave to yo^r honourable regarde.

"From Mallow 14 Jan^y 1596.

"THOS. NORREYS. G. GOLDE. F. BARKLEY."

No time was lost in furnishing the Lord Treasurer with the opinions which he had demanded respecting the more important claims of Florence to the estates of the late Earl. The very next day after the Vice-President had despatched Donal, he and Robinson sent the following opinion of the expediency of "allowing to Florence some favour and relief, and thus avoiding the grief and discontent that it would breed in all the Clancarties to see the Earl's daughter utterly disinherited." Most important was it that Sir Thomas had not allowed the delay of many hours between his last and his present despatch! for the manifesto of "the poore English Gentlemen" was preparing; and, judging from the remarkable absence of the signature of the Lord Barry, we are led to surmise that that document was at last hurried away in the hope of its reaching London before the decision of the Privy Council should be pronounced.

"1597. *January 15.* NORREYS & ROBINSON to the L^d. TREASURER.

"R^t Hon. we receiued yo^r Lords l^{re} dated the 2^d of November 1596, wth a note inclosed, conteininge the names of certein pcells of lande in Desmonde, and have accordinge to yo^r hon^s direction caused a jurie of the best and sufficient Gent^l of that contrie to enquire of the nature, condition and value of them, and allso of the truthe of a pretended mortegadge to the late Earle of Clancare's daughter for her advancement in mariadage, and whether they be of the landes intayled to the Crowne, all w^{ch} maye appear by the p^{re}sentmentes of the jurie, w^{ch} herewith we send unto yo^r Ho: not signed by the chief Justice by reason of his absence. And whereas your Ho^{rs} pleasure is that wee signifie our oppinions whether wee thinke fitte those landes to be graunted unto Florence M^o Cartye; and to certifie any other thinge meete for your Ho^{rs} knowledge touchinge his suite for those landes, wee humblye recomende unto yo^r Ho^{rs} grave iudgm^t the longe and troublesome suits and imprisonment w^{ch} the Gent^l hath sustayned by reasone of his matche wth the Earle's daughter, w^{ch} together wth his good careadge, and endeavors in Her Ma^{tie} service inforceth us to deme hime worthy of fauo^r and releefe, assurringe ourselves that if he were setteled, and some wayes inhabled, he would applye himself whollye to aduance Her Highnes service and the good of that contrie of Desmonde: w^{ch} for that it is remote, barrene, and of verie litle value, and allso for that the late Earle hath lefte behynde him three base sonnes suche as are verie likelie to watche all opportunitie to disturbbe anye that shall possesse it; w^{ch} Florence by reasone of his alyance is best hable to prevente, wee thinke fittre to be bestowede on him then anye other. Soe as he hould from Her Ma^{tie} at reasonable reseruacon the landes onely, without the tytle of Mac Cartye More, or the signory over the rest of the Clancarties of Muskrye and Dowally, and that some litle porcion be leaffe unto Donoghe Mc Cartye, and Donelle Mc Carthy, base uncle, and base sonne of beste reputacon, to the late Earle. The consideracon whereof, togethere wth the grife and discontentm^t that it may breede in all the Clancarties to see the Earl's heire uppon occasion of hir

father's surrender, and his unthriftee mortgadges, utterlie disinheritted, Wee most humblie submitte to yo^r Ho^rs grave iudgem^t, and rest ever pra'ing for the longe continuance of yo^r Ho^r estate.

"Killmallocke the 15 of Jan^r. 1596.

"THOS. NORREYS.

"—— ROBINSON."

This official opinion was in the hands of the Lord Treasurer before the remonstrance of the poor English Gentlemen could be sent from Ireland; he had thus time to ponder well which of the two evils were the weightier, to grieve and discontent the whole race of the Mac Carthys and their allies, or the Bishop of Ardfert and the five Undertakers whose respectable signatures adorn as remarkable a document as is to be found amongst Her Majesty's "State Papers."

"1597. *February 12.* BP. of ARDFERT, the BROWNES, and others to the *Privy Council.*

"R^t. Hon: & our Singler good Lords, most humblie cravinge pardon we have presumed, understandinge that Florence M^c Cartie prepareth himself to be a suiter unto Her Ma^{tie} and your Honors for the landes and honor of the late deceasede Earle of Clancartie, to sett downe unto your Honors the state of the Countrie, as also the condition of the partie, wth the nature of the people, the trobles maie ensue unto Her M^{tie} and State, wth the miseries lieke to fale uppon us poore English Gentlemen, and all Englishe inhabitants heere dwellinge. The Countrie, a great continent of greate fastnes and strengthes, and the saied Florence alreadie Taniste of Carberie, a countrie allmoste as great as the Earle's, and all these whose names are heere inclosed being Lordes of Countries, and great commanders, his allies or followers: The Gentleman himselfe a moste notable papiste, and a favorer of all superstitious maner of livinge, broughte upp wth his uncle James Fitz Morris, and his conversation hath bene much wth men not well affected unto Her Ma^{tie}, as wth Jacques, and such lieke: Himself and all his Howse come out of Spaine. The natures of the people and his followers, are only to followe their Lo: not respecting anie alleagens unto ther prince, as good prooffe hath bine made by a follower of O'Sullevant Moores who deliuered in open sessions 'He knewe no prince but O'Sullevant More'—for w^h he loste his ears. The danger wee poore Englishemen stande in cannot be but great, for a man of his greatnes if he obtaine his suite, cannot forgeat in his own nature the losse of so manie his neer kinsemen and frinds; if he woulde, his followers and kinsemen who have ever beene bluddie and desierous of revenge, woulde never forgeat; wherefore our humble sute unto your Honors is that it maie be divided amongste Gentlemen of good sorte and condition, and such as alwaies have byne, and are lieke to continew good subiects and moste to the benefite of Her Ma^{tye}, and not to be a strenghe in one man's handes, in whome their is great psumption of troble unto Her Ma^{tie} and State, and so an utter subversion and overthrowe unto us Her Ma^{tye} moste trew and obediente poore subjectes. And thus humblie

submittinge ourselves and our cause unto your Honourable consideration we humbly take leave this. Yo^r. Lps to be comaunded.

"12 of Febr^y 1596.

"NICH^O. ARTFERTE.

"EDW^d. GRAYE.

"CHA. HERBERT.

"THO. SPRINGE.

"NIC. BROWNE.

"THO. BROWNE."

(Enclosure)—"A not of such as are Lordes of Cuntries being Finnin Mac Cartis kinsmen, and followers of the Earls of Clancarte wthin Desmond and the County of Cork adioining uppon Desmond.

"CORMOK M^{AC} DERMONDE, } Finnin's Aunt's Sonns.

"TEG M^{AC} DERMOND,

"O'SULLEVAN MOOAR, married unto Finnin's Sister.

"O'SULLEVANT BEAR.

"O'DONNAOGH-GLAN.

"M^{AC} GILLO CUDDIE.

"M^{AC} CREHON.

"M^{AC} GILLO NEWLAN.

"M^C DONNELL.

"HUGH CORMOK of Dungwill.

"CLAN DERMOND.

"CLAN LAWTRAS.

"HUGH DONILL BRIK.

"M^C FINNIN.

"M^C FINNIN DUFF.

"CLAN TEIGE KETTAS.

"M^C DONNOGH BARRET.

"M^{AC} CAWLEF.

"O'KIFFE.

"O'KELAHAN.

"O'DALE.

"With many others, and alied by himselfe and his wife unto most of the noblemen in Iereland."

Two days after the date of this petition followed a despatch from Sir Geoffrey Fenton. His collusion with the men whose names followed that of the Bishop of Ardferth is so glaring, that he might as well have signed their paper, and embodied in it his own advice for the issue of letters to the Vice-President "to lay hold of Florence." It was evidently considered more effective strategy to send the official letter separately. It reached the hands of Sir Robert Cecyll, doubtless, by the same post that carried its counterpart to the Privy Council.

"1597. Feb^y. 14. To SIR ROBERT CECYLL.

"The Earle of Clancar a great Lord in Munster being now dead, and Florence Mac Carthy, by marrying with his heir general, having an ap-

parent pretence to the Earledom, I fear some alteration will grow in those partes by Florence, who is more Spanish than English; and I received this day advice from Munster that Florence alreadie begins to stir coales, in which respect I wish your Honour to advise with my Lord Treasurer out of hand, to have him either sent for thither, or some special letter written to the Lord President of Munster to lay hold of him, to make stay of him in his person, or to see him assured upon good pledges; for without the one of these two preventions I look that he will be a dangerous Robin Hood in Munster.

"14 Feb^r. 1596.

"GEOFFREY FENTON."

Florence needed no warrant from the Lo: Treasurer to compel his repair to London; within ten days of the date of this letter of Fenton he applied to the Vice-President for his passport, and received, as usual, Sir Thomas' certificate of his good and dutiful carriage.

"1597. Feb^r. 23. NORREYS to CECYLL.

"R^t. Hon.

"I haue ben earnestlie entreated by M^r. Florence M^c Cartye to recomende him to yo^r good fauor in these feowe, w^h, for that his good and dutifulle carriadge towards Her Matie hath meritted noe lesse, I coulde not but grante him. His suite is at this tyme to be inhabelede to live a settled course of life on somewhat that his late dicesed father in lawe hath left behynde him; the pticuleareties I leave to his owne relaçon, humbly craveinge that you will be pleased to continewe your fauorable regarde of him w^h he acknowledgeth alreadye to have tastede of in lardge measure. Thus leavinge him to yo^r Ho^rs regarde, and yo^r. Ho: to Godes divine ptection, I rest moste dutifullie affected to doe you service.

"Moyallo 23 Feb^r 1596.

"THO^s NORREYS."

It is impossible not to recognise, in the simple and speedy settlement of the minor claims on this inheritance, the prompt and prudent management of Florence himself. The claim of the Countess met with no opposition from him; that of Donal was admitted—not indeed as of right, but of favour—there remained the pretensions of Browne, and, after them, the rights of the Queen. How he proceeded to deal with the former, we shall presently see. Between him and the effect of his eloquence with Her Majesty there interposed another of those terrible documents which, at various critical periods of his life, pursued him even into the Privy Council with denunciations of his birth, his alliances, his religion, and his cunning! The first claim to be despatched was that of Donal, in whose behalf the will of his father was allowed to take effect; Her Majesty's gracious Warrant in favour of the aged Countess next followed.

"1598. *May 25.* ROGER WILBRAHAM to SIR ROB^r. CECYLL.

"According as you require I have considered all the state of Donell Mac Carthy.

"First I find by pap^{rs} only (and as it seemeth signed by the Earle his Fathers hand) all the parcells mentioned in the Survey, were assigned to the Petitioner Donell and his heirs, by the said Earle, and so the verdictt and Survey true, saving that a parcell called Cannasamad specified in 5th Article in the Survey, is not so called in the Earle's writing, but is called Killegen, which he sayeth is all one thing besides names, and I think his suggestion true because it agreeeth in quantitie.

"The contents of said lands are seven Quarters, some Quarters containing four ploughlands, some three, some five, as the country manner is variable. I think meete, if it please Her Majestie, that he have an Estate to him and his heires males of his body, of the said seven quarters, lying in the remote partes of Kerry and Desmond: And when the Jury in the Survey value each Quarter to be four shillings Irish per Annum I wish the Rent to be encreased to xx shillings Irish per An^m. each quarter of land, with these condicions.

"1st. That there be a saving of all strangers' rights.

"2^d. The Estate to be forfeited if he or his heirs commit treason.

"3^d. That if hereafter upon survey it appears to exceed 7 q^{rs}. he shall pay for the surplussage 20^s p^r. an^m. for each quarter.

"4. It will be convenient letters be written to keep him in possession of such as he or his tenants at will hath had quiet possession of for one or two years last past; and of the rest not to disturb the possessioners, till he have recovered by order of law, or before the gouernor or Lord President. And so returning herein all the papers touching that cause which Your Honor sent me, and submitting the cause to your Honor's good consideration I most humbly take leave.

"From Gray's Inn this 25 May 1598.

"ROGER WILBRAHAM."

"1598. *Augs^t 13.* Warrant to the Government in Ireland to allott a sufficient Dower to HONORA COUNTESS of CLANCARTY.

"Trusty, &c. We greet you well. Whereas we have by our late letters required you to authorize by our commission our President of Munster and others to enquire out and survey all the lands, rents, services and duties which ought to come to us by the death of the late Earl of Clancarie without heirs males of his body, and that the surveyors of those lands should without further warrant allott to Onora Countess of Clancary a reasonable portion for her dower. Now that the said survey may not (as is doubted) be speedily effected, we think mete, if none of our Council of Dublin can be spared for that service, that then other mete persons may proceed herein without delay: and further to express our princely favour for the relief of the said Countess, we do hereby require you that if the said survey of the late Earl's lands may not be effected within two months after the Countesses repair into our realm of Ireland, that then you give direction to our said President of Munster to possess the said Countess of a full third part of all the late Earl's castles, lands, rents, services, customs

and duties belonging to us, and whereof by our laws she is dowable, to hold the same as her dower during her life; and if any other profits and hereditaments of the said Earl may hereafter be found out and discovered for us by survey or other lawful means, whereof she is dowable, you shall by this our authority establish her in the quiet possession of the third part in full satisfaction of her dower, in which designment, as we mean of our especial grace that the said Countess shall have a full third part in certainty for her dower of all the said Earl's late inheritance as may be most convenient for her estate and maintenance, so likewise we expect the other two parts thereof to be reserved so entire to us as may be convenient for our service, and for the best satisfaction of such as shall be humbly suitors to us for those lands. Lastly if it appears to the commissioners of the said survey that the said Countess hath not received a third part of the mean profits of the premises, sithens the death of her husband, then we require you after it shall be found out by jury or otherwise what the mean profits are, and who have received the same, then the Commissioners assign to the said Countess so much as belongs to her for her dower, reserving the residue to us, and for such uses as are expressed in our former letter therein," &c.

Cleared of the claims of Donal and the Countess, the question of the inheritance was much simplified. There still remained a vast possession, which, if the surrender of the Earl was to be held effective, lapsed to the Queen. Of a large portion of these lands Her Majesty had granted, during the Earl's lifetime, a prospective lease in perpetuity to the Brownes; but the Earl, ignoring altogether any rights either present or prospective, in the Queen consequent upon his surrender of his country to her, and recognising, as far as Browne was concerned, only his claim to hold certain portions of his lands as long as he held certain sums of Browne's money, had executed other mortgages of these and other lands on a grand scale, to Florence, as dower with his daughter. Florence adopted the Earl's views of his rights, and proceeded to lay before the Queen his "Reasons" why the Earl's lands ought to descend to Ellen his wife, and to his heirs. Shortly afterwards he petitioned Her Majesty graciously to waive her claims in his favour; to allow him to repay the trifling sums lent by Browne, and to resume all the lands which Browne, by some singular mental process, had evidently convinced himself he was justified in calling his *seignory*. The political condition of Ireland quickened the decision of the Irish lawyers to whom the matter had been referred for investigation, and of the Privy Council, to whose final award the Queen had left it. It had become of importance to conciliate the numerous and powerful sept of the Mac Carthys—none any longer to gratify the Brownes and their allies.
